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PASTORAL LETTER

OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOFS OF THE UNITED STATES
(Continued)

SECULAR CONDITIONS

The temporal order, in the last thirty-five years, has undergone radical changes. It has been affected by movements which, though checked for a time or reversed, have steadily gathered momentum. Their direction and goal are no longer matters of surmise or suspicion. Their outcome is plainly before us.

During the first three decades of this period the advance of civilization was more rapid and more general than in any earlier period of equal length. The sound of progress, echoing beyond its traditional limits, aroused all the nations to a sense of their possibilities, and stirred each with an ambition to win its share in the forward movement of the world. At the same time, the idea of a human weal for whose promotion all should strive and by whose attainment all should profit, seemed to be gaining universal acceptance. If rivalry here and there gave occasion for friction or conflict, it was treated as incidental: the general desire for harmony, apparently, was nearing fulfilment.

Toward this end the highest tendencies in the secular order were steadily converging. A wider diffusion of knowledge provided the basis for a mutual understanding of rights and obligations. Science, while attaining more completely to the mastery of nature, placed itself more effectually at the service of man. Through its practical applications, it hastened material progress, facilitated the intercourse of nation with nation, and thus lowered the natural barriers of distance and time. But it also made possible a fuller exchange of ideas, and thereby revealed to the various peoples of earth that in respect of need, aspiration and purpose, they had more in common than generally was supposed.

It helped them to see that however they differed in race, tradition and language, in national temper and political organization, they were humanly one in the demand for freedom with equal right

and opportunity.

As this consciousness developed in mankind at large, the example of our own country grew in meaning and influence. For a century and more it had taught the world that men could live and prosper under free institutions. During the period in question it has continued to receive the multitudes who came not, as in the early days, from a few countries only, but from every foreign land, to enjoy the blessings of liberty and to better their worldly condition. In making them its own, America has shown a power of assimilation that is without precedent in the temporal order. With their aid it has undertaken and achieved industrial tasks on a scale unknown to former generations. The wealth thus produced has been used in generous measure to build up institutions of public utility. Education, in particular, has flourished; its importance has been more fully recognized, its problems more widely discussed, the means of giving and obtaining it more freely supplied. While its aim has been to raise the intellectual level and thereby enhance the worth of the individual, experience has shown the advantage of organized effort for the accomplishment of any purpose in which the people, as a whole, or any considerable portion, has an interest. Hence the remarkable development of associations which, though invested with no authority, have become powerful enough to shape public opinion and even to affect the making of laws. If, in some instances, the power of association has been directed toward ends that were at variance with the general good and by methods which created disturbance, there has been, on the whole, a willingness to respect authority and to abide by its decisions.

Thus, as it appeared, the whole trend of human affairs was securing the world in peace. The idea of war was farthest from the minds of the peoples. The possibility of war had ceased to be a subject for serious discussion. To adjust their disputes, the nations had set up a tribunal. The volume of seeming prosperity swelled.

CATHOLIC WAR ACTIVITIES

Once it had been decided that our country should enter the war, no words of exhortation were needed to arouse the Catholic spirit. This had been shown in every national crisis. It had stirred to eloquent expression the Fathers of the Third Plenary Council.

"We consider the establishment of our country's independence, the shaping of its liberties and laws, as a work of special Providence, its framers 'building better than they knew,' the Almighty's hand guiding them. . . . We believe that our country's heroes were the instruments of the God of nations in establishing this home of freedom; to both the Almighty and to His instruments in the work we look with grateful reverence; and to ma ntain the inheritance of freedom which they have left us, should it ever—which God forbid—be imperilled, our Catholic citizens will be found to stand forward as one man, ready to pledge anew 'their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.'"

The prediction has been fulfilled. The traditional patriotism of our Catholic people has been amply demonstrated in the day of their country's trial. And we look with pride upon the record which proves, as no mere protestation could prove, the devotion of American Catholics to the cause of American freedom.

To safeguard the moral and physical welfare of our Catholic soldiers and sailors, organized action was needed. The excellent work already accomplished by the Knights of Columbus pointed the way to further undertaking. The unselfish patriotism with which our various societies combined their forces in the Catholic Young Men's Association, the enthusiasm manifested by the organizations of Catholic women, and the eagerness of our clergy to support the cause of the nation, made it imperative to unify the energies of the whole Catholic body and direct them toward the American purpose. With this end in view, the National Catholic War Council was formed by the Hierarchy. Through the Committee on Special War Activities, and the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities, the efforts of our people in various lines were coordinated and rendered more effective, both in providing for the spiritual needs of all Catholics under arms and in winning our country's success. This unified action was worthy of the Catholic name. It was in keeping with the pledge which the Hierarchy had given our Government: "Our people, now as ever, will rise as one man to serve the nation. Our priests and consecrated women will once again, as in every former trial of our country, win by their bravery, their heroism

and their service, new admiration and approval." (Letter to the President, April 18, 1917.)

To our chaplains especially we give the credit that is their due for the faithful performance of their obligations. In the midst of danger and difficulty, under the new and trying circumstances which war inevitably brings, they acted as priests.

The account of our men in the service adds a new page to the record of Catholic loyalty. It is what we expected and what they took for granted. But it has a significance that will be fairly appreciated when normal conditions return. To many assertions it answers with one plain fact.

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE COUNCIL

In view of the results obtained through the merging of our activities for the time and purpose of war, we determined to maintain, for the ends of peace, the spirit of union and the coordination of our forces. We have accordingly grouped together, under the National Catholic Welfare Council, the various agencies by which the cause of religion is furthered. Each of these, continuing its own special work in its chosen field, will now derive additional support through general cooperation. And all will be brought into closer contact with the Hierarchy, which bears the burden alike of authority and of responsibility for the interests of the Catholic Church.

Under the direction of the Council and, immediately, of the Administrative Committee, several departments have been established, each with a specific function, as follows:

The Department of Education, to study the problems and conditions which affect the work and development of our Catholic schools;

The Department of Social Welfare, to coordinate those activities which aim at improving social conditions in accordance with the spirit of the Church;

The Department of Press and Literature, to systematize the work of publication;

The Department of Societies and Lay Activities, to secure a more thoroughly unified action among our Catholic organizations.

For the development and guidance of missionary activity, provision has been made through The American Board of Catholic Missions, which will have in charge both the Home and the Foreign Missions.

The organization of these departments is now in progress. To complete it, time and earnest cooperation will be required. The task assigned to each is so laborious and yet so promising of results that we may surely expect, with the Divine assistance and the loyal support of our clergy and people, to promote more effectually the glory of God, the interests of His Church, and the welfare of our country.

LESSONS OF THE WAR

In order that our undertakings may be wisely selected and prudently carried on, we should consider seriously the lessons of the war, the nature of our present situation and the principles which must guide the adjustment of all our relations.

Our estimate of the war begins, naturally, with the obvious facts: with the number of peoples involved, the vastness and effectiveness of their armaments, the outlay in treasure and toil, the destruction of life, and the consequent desolation which still lies heavy on the nations of Europe. Beside these visible aspects, we know somewhat of the spiritual suffering—of the sorrow and hopelessness which have stricken the souls of men. And deeper than these, beyond our power of estimation, is the moral evil, the wrong whose magnitude only the Searcher of hearts can determine.

For we may not forget that in all this strife of the peoples, in the loosening of passion and the seething of hate, sin abounded. Not the rights of man alone, but the law of God was openly disregarded. And if we come before Him now in thankfulness, we must come with contrite hearts, in all humility beseeching Him that He continue His mercies toward us, and enable us so to order our human relations that we may both atone for our past transgressions and strengthen the bond of peace with a deeper charity for our fellow-men and purer devotion to His service.

We owe it to His goodness that our country has been spared the suffering and desolation which war has spread so widely. Our homes, our natural resources, our means of intercourse and the institutions which uphold the life of our nation, have all been preserved. We are free, without let or hindrance, to go forward in the paths of industry, of culture, of social improvement and moral reform. The sense of opportunity has quickened us, and we turn with eagerness to a future that offers us boundless advantage.

Let us not turn hastily. Our recent experience has taught us innumerable lessons, too full and profound to be mastered at once. Their ultimate meaning a later generation will ponder and comprehend. But even now we can recognize the import of this conspicuous fact: a great nation, conscious of power yet wholly given to peace and unskilled in the making of war, gathered its might and put forth its strength in behalf of freedom and right as the inalienable endowment of all mankind. When its aims were accomplished, it laid down its arms, without gain or acquisition, save in the clearer understanding of its own ideals and the fuller appreciation of the blessings which freedom alone can bestow.

The achievement was costly. It meant interruption of peaceful pursuits, hardship at home and danger abroad. Not one class or state or section, but the people as a whole had to take up the burden. This spirit of union and sacrifice for the common weal found its highest expression in the men and women who went to do service in distant lands. To them, and especially to those who died that America might live, we are forever indebted. Their triumph over self is the real victory, their loyalty the real honor of our nation, the fidelity to duty the bulwark of our freedom.

To such men and their memory, eulogy is at best a poor tribute. We shall not render them their due nor show ourselves worthy to name them as our own, unless we inherit their spirit and make it the soul of our national life. The very monuments we raise in their honor will become a reproach to us, if we fail in those things of which they have left us such splendid example.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

We entered the war with the highest of objects, proclaiming at every step that we battled for the right and pointing to our country as a model for the world's imitation. We accepted therewith the responsibility of leadership in accomplishing the task that lies before mankind. The world awaits our fulfilment. Pope Benedict himself has declared that our people, "retaining a most firm hold on the principles of reasonable liberty and of Christian civilization, are destined to have the chief rôle in the restoration of peace and order on the basis of those same principles, when the violence of these tempestuous days shall have passed." (Letter to the Hierarchy, April 10, 1919.)

This, beyond doubt, is a glorious destiny, far more in keeping with the aims of our people than the triumph of armies or the conquest of wider domain. Nor is it an impossible destiny, provided we exemplify in our own national life "the principles of reasonable liberty and of Christian civilization."

At present, however, we are confronted with problems at home that give us the gravest concern. Intent as we were on restoring the order of Europe, we did not sufficiently heed the symptoms of unrest in our country, nor did we reckon with movements which, in their final result, would undo both our recent achievement and all that America has so far accomplished.

These are due, partly, to the disturbance which war invariably causes, by turning men away from their usual occupations, by reducing producton, increasing taxation and adding to the number of those who are dependent and helpless. The majority of the people do not realize to what an extent the necessities of war diverted industrial and other activities from their ordinary course. There naturally results irritation and impatience at the slowness with which reconstruction proceeds.

Deeper and more ominous is the ferment in the souls of men, that issues in agitation not simply against defects in the operation of the existing order, but also against that order itself, its framework and very foundation. In such a temper men see only the facts—the unequal distribution of wealth, power and worldly advantage—and against the facts they rebel. But they do not discern the real causes that produce those effects, and much less the adequate means by which both causes and effects can be removed. Hence, in the attempt at remedy, methods are employed which result in failure, and beget a more hopeless confusion.

To men of clearer vision and calmer judgment there comes the realization that the things on which they relied for the world's security have broken under the strain. The advance of civilization, the diffusion of knowledge, the unlimited freedom of thought, the growing relaxation of moral restraint—all these, it was believed, had given such ample scope to individual aims and desires that conflict, if it arose at all, could be readily and thoroughly adjusted.

The assumption is not borne out by the facts. On the contrary, as in the war destruction was swifter and wider because

of the progress of science, so our present situation is complicated by increased ability to plan, to organize and to execute in any direction that may lead to any success. Education provided at the public expense can now be used as the strongest means of attacking the public weal; and to this end it will surely be used unless thinking and doing be guided by upright motives. The consciousness of power, quickened by our achievement in war, but no longer checked by discipline nor directed to one common purpose, has aroused parties, organizations and even individuals to a boldness of undertaking hitherto unknown. The result is an effort to press onward in the pursuit of self-appointed ends, with little regard for principles and still less for the altruism which we professed on entering the war.

On the other hand, it is true, intelligence, initiative and energy have been exerted to accomplish higher and worthier aims. It was thought that the enthusiasm and eagerness for service which war had called forth, might easily be directed toward useful and needed reforms. With this persuasion for their impulse and guidance, various movements have been inaugurated either to

uproot some evil or to further some promising cause.

Now it is obvious that neither the pursuit of lofty ideals nor earnest devotion to the general welfare can do away with the fact that we are facing grave peril. Much less can we hide that fact from view by increasing the means and following the inclination to pleasure. No sadder contrast, indeed, can be found than that which appears between careless enjoyment in countless forms and the grim struggle that is shaking the foundations of social existence. Craving for excitement and its reckless gratification may blind us to danger; but the danger is none the less real.

The practical conclusion which the present situation forces upon us is this: to bring order out of confusion, we must first secure a sound basis and then build up consistently. Mere expedients no longer suffice. To cover up evil with a varnish of respectability or to rear a grand structure on the quicksand of error is downright folly. In spite of great earnestness on the part of their leaders, reforms without number have failed, because they moved along the surface of life, smoothing indeed its outward defects, yet leaving the source of corruption within.

CHRIST AND THE CHURCH

One true reform the world has known. It was effected, not by force, agitation or theory, but by a Life in which the perfect ideal was visibly realized, becoming the "light of men." That light has not grown dim with the passing of time. Men have turned their eyes away from it; even His followers have strayed from its pathway; but the truth and the life of Jesus Christ are real and clear today—for all who are willing to see. There is no other name under heaven whereby the world can be saved.

Through the Gospel of Jesus and His living example mankind learned the meaning, and received the blessing, of liberty. In His person was shown the excellence and true dignity of human nature, wherein human rights have their center. In His dealings with men, justice and mercy, sympathy and courage, pity for weakness and rebuke for hollow pretence, were perfectly blended. Having fulfilled the law, He gave to His followers a new commandment. Having loved His own who were in the world, He loved them to the end. And since He came that they might have life and have it more abundantly, He gave it to them through His death.

The Church which Christ established has continued His work, upholding the dignity of man, defending the rights of the people, relieving distress, consecrating sacrifice and binding all classes together in the love of their Saviour. The combination of authority and reasonable freedom which is the principle element in the organization of the Church, is also indispensable in our social relations. Without it there can be neither order nor law nor genuine freedom.

But the Church itself would have been powerless save for the abiding presence of Christ and His Spirit. "Without me, you can do nothing"; but again, "Behold I am with you all days." Both these sayings are as true today as when they were spoken by the Master. There may be philosophies and ideals and schemes of reform; the wise may deliberate and the powerful exert their might; but when the souls of men have to be reached and transformed to a better sense, that justice may reign and charity abound, then more than ever is it true that without Christ our efforts are vain.

THE SOURCES OF EVIL

Instructed by His example, the Church deals with men as they really are, recognizing both the capacities for good and the inclinations to evil that are in every human being. Exaggeration in either direction is an error. That the world has progressed

in many respects is obviously true; but it is equally plain that the nature of man is what it was twenty centuries ago. Those who overlooked this fact were amazed at the outbreak of war among nations that were foremost in progress. But now it is evident that beneath the surface of civilization lay smoldering the passions and jealousies that in all time past had driven the nations to conflict. Pope Benedict expressed this truth when he pointed to the causes of war: lack of mutual good-will, contempt for authority, conflict of class with class, and absorption in the pursuit of perishable goods of this world, with utter disregard of things that are nobler and worthier of human endeavor (Encyc., Ad beatissimi, November 1, 1914).

These are the seed and prolific sources of evil. As tendencies, perhaps, they cannot be wholly extirpated; but to justify them as principles of action, to train them into systems of philosophy and let them, through education, become the thought of the people, would be fatal to all our true interests. As long as the teaching of false theory continues, we cannot expect that men will act in accordance with the truth. It is a mistake to suppose that philosophy has a meaning for only the chosen few who enjoy the advantage of higher education and leisurely thinking; and it is worse than a mistake to punish men for acting out pernicious ideas, while the development and diffusion of those same ideas is rewarded as advancement of knowledge. We surely need no further proof of the dangers of materialism, of atheism and of other doctrines that banish God from His world. degrade man to the level of the brute and reduce the moral order to a struggle for existence. Argument against such doctrines, or theoretical testing of their value, is superfluous, now that we see the result of their practical application. And while, with every legitimate means we strive, as we must, to uphold the rights of the public by the maintenance of order, let us be fully convinced that we are dealing with the final and logical outcome of false doctrine. Here again the source lies farther back. If we find that the fruit is evil, we should know what to do with the root.

THE FUNDAMENTAL ERROR

It cannot be denied that the growth of knowledge and its application to practical needs have made the earth a better

habitation for man; many appear to consider it as his first and only abode. As the means of enjoyment are multiplied, there is an increasing tendency to become absorbed in worldly pursuits and to neglect those which belong to our eternal welfare. The trend of speculative thought is in the same direction; for while the development of science continually affords us evidence of law and order and purpose in the world about us, many refuse to acknowledge in creation the work of an intelligent author. They profess to see in the universe only the manifestation of a Power, whose effects are absolutely determined through the operation of mechanical forces; and they extend this conception to life and all its relations. But once this view is accepted, it is easy to draw the conclusion that the really decisive factor in human affairs is force. Whether by cunning or by violence, the stronger is sure to prevail. It is a law unto itself and it is accountable to none other, since the idea of a Supreme Lawgiver has vanished.

This, indeed, is the root-evil whence spring the immediate causes of our present condition. God, from whom all things are and on whom all things depend, the Creator and Ruler of men, the source and sanction of righteousness, the only Judge who with perfect justice can weigh the deeds and read the hearts of men, has, practically, at least, disappeared from the whole conception of life, so far as this is dominated by a certain type of modern thought. Wherever this sort of thinking is taken as truth, there is set up a scheme of life, individual, social and political, which seeks, not in the eternal but in the human and transitory, its ultimate foundation. The law of morals is regarded as a mere convention arranged by men to secure and enjoy the goods of this present time; and conscience itself as simply a higher form of the instinct whereby the animal is guided. And yet withal it lies in the very nature of man that something must be supreme, something must take the place of the divine when this has been excluded: and this substitute for God, according to a predominant philosophy, is the State. Possessed of unlimited power to establish rights and impose obligations, the State becomes the sovereign ruler of human affairs; its will is the last word of justice, its welfare the determinant of moral values, its service the final aim of man's existence and action.

GOD THE SUPREME RULER

When such an estimate of life and its purpose is accepted, it is idle to speak of the supreme value of righteousness, the sacredness of justice or the sancity of conscience. Nevertheless. these are things that must be retained, in name and in reality the only alternative is that supremacy of force against which humanity protests. To make the protest effectual, it is imperative that we recognize in God the source of justice and right; in His law, the sovereign rule of life; in the destiny which He has appointed for us, the ultimate standard by which all values are fixed and determined. Reverent acknowledgment of our dependence on Him and our responsibility to Him, acknowledgment not in word alone but in the conduct of our lives, is at once our highest duty and our strongest title to the enjoyment of our rights. This acknowledgment we express in part by our service of prayer and worship. But prayer and worship will not avail, unless we also render the broader service of good will which, in conformity with His will, follows the path of duty in every sphere of life.

As we are not the authors of our own being, so we are not, in an absolute sense, masters of ourselves and of our powers. We may not determine for ourselves the ultimate aim of our existence or the means of its attainment. God has established, by the very constitution of our nature, the end for which He created us, giving us life as a sacred trust to be administered in accordance with His design. Thereby He has also established the norm of our individual worth, and the basis of our real independence. Obedience to His law, making our wills identical with His, invests us with a personal dignity which neither self-assertion nor the approval of others can ever bestow. The man who bows in obedience to the law of his Maker, rises above himself and above the world to an independence that has no bounds save the Infinite. To do as God commands, whatever the world may think or say, is to be free, not by human allowance but under the approval of Him whose service is perfect freedom.

In the light of this central truth we can understand and appreciate the principle on which our American liberties are founded—"that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." These are conferred by God with equal bounty upon every human being, and therefore, in respect of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the same rights

belong to all men and for the same reason. Not by mutual concession or covenant, not by warrant or grant from the State, are these rights established; they are the gift and bestowal of God. In consequence of this endowment, and therefore in obedience to the Creator's will, each of us is bound to respect the rights of his fellowmen. This is the essential meaning of justice, the great law antecedent to all human enactment and contrivance, the only foundation on which may rest securely the fabric of society and the structure of our political, legal and economic systems.

(To be continued)

FOR THE FREEDOM OF EDUCATION1

While the people of the United States had their entire attention, their energies and interest concentrated on the great war and its winning, and while all felt confident that the cause of freedom and democracy would be safeguarded at home at a time when the soldiers of the country were fighting abroad under the banner of democracy, a concerted propaganda has been carried on in this country which cannot but lead to an absolutistic system of Centralization of Education. It is a strange anomaly that the very circles which were among the loudest-voiced propounders of democratic principles, should desire to create in this country a system of centralized school control which has a tendency to outdo the methods of the most absolutistic of statesmen who at any time sought to make the schools a tool in the hands of the ruling power. And yet such is the case.

THE HOKE SMITH BILL AND THE TOWNER BILL

Some time in October, 1918, Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia introduced in the upper chamber of the law-making body of the country a bill for the creation of a Department of Education and for other purposes. This bill was followed by the Towner Bill, introduced in the House of Representatives by Repr. H. M. Towner of Iowa. Both bills were advocated by the National Education Association, which made strenuous efforts towards securing their adoption-The N. E. A. Bulletin, published by that organization, and such government publications as "School Life," "Americanization," "The Vocational Summary," along with teachers' organizations, were also hitched to the chariot of the N. E. A. propaganda, and the secular press was flooded with campaign material designed to create sentiment favorable to the passage of these bills. Owing, however, to the stress of the war work in which House and Senate were engaged, the bills, then in the form of a joint-bill, Smith-Towner S. 5635, were buried among the mass of legislation left unfinished at the close of the session.

RESURRECTED AND FOSTERED BY SAME SPONSORS

On the opening day of the present session of the Congress, a revised Towner Bill was introduced in the House of Representa-

¹ Printed as a Free Leaflet by the Central Bureau of the Central Society. Address 201 Temple Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

tives, and given the designation H. R. 7. The twin bill promptly made its appearance as Smith (Georgia) Senate bill 1017. The foster-mother of the twins, the N. E. A., is very actively engaged in endeavoring to secure the adoption of her little ones by the Senate and Congress. Lest there be any misunderstanding, it should be borne in mind that the letters N. E. A. formerly were understood as meaning National Educational Association, but that for some time past, being more fully imbued with the grander aims before it, the body has made the same letters mean: National Education Association. It requires no further comment to bring out the exalted position the organization seeks to occupy; once a national association devoted to educational matters and purposes, the body has since become an association devoted to the cause of national education. There lies the crux of the matter, and it is just the nationalization, in a greater or less degree, of education, that the Smith and Towner bills favor and which, because they tend to establish an unwholesome measure of centralization and for other reasons, are opposed by all friends of the freedom of education.

THE VERDICT ON THE BILLS

What should be the verdict on these twin bills? The same verdict that we passed on the former Smith bill and the Smith-Towner bill (in the series of articles sent to the Catholic press of the country between the months of December, 1918 and June, 1919). They should be categorically rejected and with them any and all attempts should be defeated, which have a tendency to set up a state monopoly of education and which would entail the destruction of the liberty of education.

The new bill—H. R. 7—has been carefully studied together with the many comments printed in the N. E. A. Bulletin for June, 1919. Our verdict is that the tendency of this legislation is dangerous, un-American, and unjust.

Great pains are taken by the N. E. A. to obviate the criticism that the bill would destroy state and local autonomy in school administration. A statement inserted in the bill reads to the effect that no uniformity of plans, means and methods is required, and that the proposed Secretary of Education shall exercise no authority except as provided in the bill to insure for the use of any particular state the funds apportioned to that state, for the purposes for which they have been appropriated

INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATES ILLUSORY

However, the relations into which the States would enter with the federal government under the proposed Towner scheme would be such as to entail a sacrifice of independence on the part of the States, at least as far as school control is concerned. It is, indeed, only natural to assume that it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual state or municipality to remain independent of the Secretary of Education when the money received from national funds must be disbursed exactly as stipulated by the Secretary of Education while he is to judge of the carrying out of these conditions. Moreover, each state is obliged under the Towner bill to appropriate out of its revenue an amount of money equal to that appropriated out of national funds, the entire sum to be disbursed for the same specific purposes.

It is evident from the foregoing consideration that the tendency is undeniably present in the bill to create a degree of dependency of the individual state on the proposed federal Department of Education, and thus on the federal Government in matters of education. In spite of the optimism of the promoters, this condition cannot be ignored. An analogous situation is that confronting the parochial schools in the past, in states in which some friends of the Catholic parochial schools were inclined to advance the cause of these schools by seeking an appropriation from State funds for their benefit. The assumption was that, as Catholics contributed their full share of taxes for educational purposes, which taxes went to the support of the public schools, they (the Catholics) might ask for a pro rata, or even less than a pro rata, from the state fund for the support of their own schools. The argument was advanced that Catholics bore a double burden of taxation, by supporting, to the same extent as other citizens, the public schools, and by supporting fully their own schools, thus relieving the state of the burden of providing buildings, equipment and teachers for many thousands of Catholic children. Consequently, some argued, a share from the public funds would not only be helpful and would not only relieve Catholics in part of the financial burden they bore for the State in the interest of education, but would also be a matter of plain justice. However, Martin I. J. Griffin, the noted Catholic Irish-American historian, very promptly and very emphatically submitted the counter-argument: If Catholics were to accept from the political party in power, or from

the state as such, a share of the tax proceeds for school purposes, they would thereby surrender a goodly share of their political independence, and with them their schools would become subject to the powers or elements which had granted them such a share in the state fund. Such a development they would seriously have to regret, since political freedom must be preserved by all means. Moreover, if such support were granted at one time and refused at another, nothing but chaos would result. Honest Catholic citizens could however, never obligate themselves to pay the price of state support of their schools by offering political fealty to the party or parties in power. Therefore such an appeal for state support should not be made at all. In addition to this argument it is proper to note that, in practice, dependence on subsidies or state funds diminishes self-reliance of the groupbe it a religious group, a community, or the citizenship of an entire state help makes for dependency and the elimination of self help, and, if the state help be removed at any time, it will be doubly difficult for the group deprived of such help to work out its own salvation unaided.

The analogy is obvious: If an individual state were to accept federal aid for its schools, the obligation it assumes towards the federal department and the federal authorities would be evident. The preservation of state rights would be seriously hazarded by the same token as the parochial schools would be endangered under the Griffin hypothesis. Still there are many who seem to believe that the attitude of the federal government, in any case. would be neither more nor less than one of kindness and benevolence, without any admixture of the desire of domination. Those holding this opinion should realize that there is a most decided tendency towards centralization of power and authority in the hands of the federal government abroad in the land, and that this desire is seeking expression in the field of education. So eminent an authority as Henry Litchfield West, author of: Federal Power, Its Growth and Necessity, former Commissioner of the District of Columbia, an earnest advocate of an increase of federal power. notes that the desire is strong to control federally the education of the youth of the country. In his book, published in 1918 and recommended by Theodore Roosevelt as "an exceedingly creditable piece of work," West points specifically to the proposed federalization of education. On p. 106 he says:

"The end of federalization is not yet. It is practically certain, for example, that within the next ten years the Bureau of Education, now a modest attachment of the Department of the Interior, will reach colossal size. There is in Congress a growing belief that the dispensing of education in wholesale fashion is a governmental duty, without regard to the efforts put forth, or the facilities provided by the States...."

Thus Mr. West, himself an advocate of federalization, confirms our argument as to the fact of the tendency towards centralization and towards the ignoring of State rights. He prophesies federalization of education, recognizes that a governmental department, if created, will act "without regard to . . . the States." And West adds another important argument when he says that there is "in Congress a growing belief that the dispensing of education in wholesale fashion is a governmental duty . . . " We believe that the Towner bill is a fruit of this "growing belief in Congress." Surely no one would approve of a bill advocating the "dispensing of education in wholesale fashion!"

It is evident from the foregoing that under the proposed scheme of federalization of education the cherished "State Rights" will be quickly rendered illusory. Mr. West has indicated this specifically, and it is to him again, an advocate of federalization, that we owe the following remarkable information. On one occasion, the Commissioner of Education was to be instructed by the Congress to carry out a certain task of investigation. Mr. Fitzgerald, of New York, who was chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, protested against "a movement which, if continued and not stopped, means an entire change in our system of government, a practical subordination of State and local government, if not the elimination of self government in this country, and the building up of a great Federalized central government, which I believe is the greatest menace to this country." (West, l. c. p. 106-107.)

To return to the specific provisions of the Towner bill. The distribution and purposes mentioned in the bill are identical with those enumerated in the previous bill, viz:

PURPORT OF THE TOWNER BILL

The Towner bill provides the expenditure, annually, of: \$7,500,000 for the removal of illiteracy;

\$7,500,000 for Americanization;

\$50,000,000 for equalizing educational opportunities;

\$30,000,000 for physical education, including health and sanitation;

\$50,000,000 for preparation for teachers.

Now, granting that these purposes are good and commendable and desirable, why can not each state, enjoying its independence and working out its own destiny, control its affairs without the patronizing and paternalistic care of the grand step-mother in Washington? The American doctrine of State rights versus Federal rights is as plain as possible and should by all means be observed in all matters pertaining to education.

FEATURES OF THE BILL

H. R. 7 has two distinct parts: Section 1, authorizes the creation of a Department of Education and the appointment of a Secretary for this department, with a salary of \$12,000 a year, and of an Assistant Secretary, with an annual salary of \$5,000. The door is left open for the appointment of a number of other officials, the section saying: "There shall also be one chief clerk and a disbursing clerk and such chiefs of bureaus and clerical assistants as may from time to time be authorized by Congress" (Sec. 2).

Sec. 5 provides: "that it shall be the duty of this Department of Education to conduct studies and investigations in the field of education and to report thereon. Research shall be undertaken in: (a) illiteracy; (b) immigrant education; (c) public school education and especially rural education; (d) physical education, including health education, recreation, sanitation; (e) preparation and supply of competent teachers for the public schools; (f) in such other fields, as, in the judgment of the Secretary of Education, may require attention and study. . . . Educational attachés to foreign embassies and other investigators as may be needed, subject to appropriations that have been made or may hereafter be made" are also mentioned in Section 5.

EXTENSION OF APPROPRIATIONS AND APPOINTMENTS

The sum of \$500,000 is appropriated for salaries and investigations. One should note carefully the clause: "appropriations which have been made and which may hereafter be made." No doubt, there will be an annual wrangling for larger appropriations. But the money must come from the citizens, and these latter are confronted with the interesting situation, that each

dollar granted by the New Department of Education for the work of the Department in any state must be duplicated by the citizens of that state, for, it must be remembered, the individual state must appropriate an amount equal to that allowed from the federal department, to be used for the same purpose. The question immediately arises as to whether this method will not prove entirely too complex. Once this complexity is realized, and when the vast expenditures resultant from this system come to be weighed at their full import, the demand for a simplification of the process will inevitably arise. The sole solution feasible at that stage would be the turning over of the entire matter to the Federal Government; and thus the influence of the Federal Government over the States would be increased and the State rights minimized. H. R. 7, then, from this viewpoint also, calls for careful study, consideration, and even opposition rather than such enthusiastic and unqualified support as the N. E. A. has given it.

FURTHER OBJECTIONS TO THE PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Now, one may oppose the appropriation scheme of this bill and yet favor the creation of a department of education. Such a view is quite possible, and there may be many who entertain it. But a department of education as contemplated by the bill under discussion and similar measures would have a tendency to become an institution based on an undemocratic foundation of federal supremacy, with the consequent subordination of the states to this supremacy; in short it would mean the beginning of a federal monopoly of education. Here are the reasons:

A FALSE ASSUMPTION

First: The plan is constructed on the false assumption that none but the public schools have a right to exist and to operate. This is the explicit doctrine of the N. E. A., which in its Pittsburgh meeting last summer affirmed again "its faith in the American common school system as the only safe and sure foundation for a democracy either in peace or in war." The N. E. A. affirms again what had been declared already in the Charleston meeting. This is an insult to the grand educational work of private schools and the work of the churches, which is fairly well written up in the Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 10, 1918, "Educational Work of the Churches 1916-18."

MONEYS TO BE USED ONLY FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Secondly: While the revised N. E. A. bill does not explicitly forbid any of the money to be used for private or religious schools, it is understood implicitly that the vast taxes paid by all citizens are to be disbursed only to the public schools. This will amount in practice to penalizing the private schools for the excellent work they have performed in the past, and are still performing, and for the relief they afford the state and other public, yea, the government schools.

DISASTROUS RESULTS

Thirdly: The objection has been raised that the proposed scheme would entail an unnecessary, vast expense. There can be no question on this score. The complexity of the system will add an unnecessary volume of expense, through the employment of an army of clerks, to the sums being paid the force already employed in the Bureau of Education and in the state and federal treasuries. For there will have to be an increase in taxation. The figures given being very large, one may rightly assume that the temptation to squander the moneys involved will be correspondingly great. Moreover, it is a serious question whether or not Catholics and Lutherans and others, who maintain their own private schools, should in justice be made to bear the increase in taxation. Then, too, will these groups be able to bear up under the increased burden, or will their schools be made to suffer? One can readily see that an undue increase in taxation will tend to cause a decrease in the support given private and parochial schools, causing these schools to deteriorate or at least to fail in their plans of progress. At the same time, however, the schools benefited by the Towner bill should be able to progress all the more rapidly, thus emphasizing the gulf between private and state schools. In view of the fact that America as a nation has an interest in seeing all schools, including private and parochial schools, attain their highest possible development, it does not seem fair that taxation should be added to taxation, so that a federal department might appropriate princely sums to states which are willing to raise equally large sums of money for their public schools and institutions, all of which money will have to come from the tax-payers.

Another consideration pertaining to the private and parochial

schools likewise deserves notice. It is by no means a gratuitous assumption that the private and parochial schools may easily become the victims of their enemies, especially if the latter are able to entrench themselves behind a powerful organization such as they would have in a department of this type and in Congress. No one will deny that the spirit of antagonism to parochial schools is alive and active in the land. If any one were simple-minded enough to believe the contrary, the legislative activities in several states, notably Nebraska and Michigan, leave no doubt as to the final attempt at closing all private and religious schools.

DANGER OF POLITICAL EXPLOITATION

Lest we be accused of undue pessimism in regard to the influence of politics on the educational system provided by the Towner (and the Smith) bill (see paragraph on "State Rights") we quote a former leader of the N. E. A. itself on the issue, Mr. Nathan C. Schaefer, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Pa., and President of the N. E. A. at the time when the new charter was adopted, who said in an address delivered before a meeting of that organization:

"The National Education Association has always been a forum for the free discussion of conflicting views and theories of education. I need not apologize for expressing my views on the future policy of the Association. I was an enthusiast for a Secretary of Education in the President's cabinet until my friends drew my attention to the probability of plunging the schools into the maelstrom of politics every four years, or at least with every exciting presidential election. It was further pointed out that a career of service such as Harris and Claxton have given would be impossible if the head of the nation's schools changed with every national administration."²

PROBABLE EXTENSION OF DEPARTMENT'S JURISDICTION

Fourthly: The Secretary of Education will inevitably reach out for wider jurisdiction and continue to do so until federal control of the schools is complete. This is evident from the argument frequently met with in the N. E. A. literature, viz.: as the National

² "The New Program of the National Education Association. An Opportunity and a Responsibility." Speech delivered at the Pittsburgh meeting, 1918. See Addresses and Proceedings of the Fifty-Sixth Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa. June 29 to July 6, 1918, p. 40 (just published).

Government is making liberal appropriations for vocational education in the Hughes Act, so the support of general education is even more fundamental and necessary; and it may be safely assumed that the Secretary of the Department of Education will not be backward in requesting jurisdiction over special fields, once he has the general field under his command. After the lower grades have been brought under control, the colleges will be the next goal to which the Secretary is bound to aspire. That this step is inevitable is evident from the Bureau of Education publication, Bulletin No. 30, 1918: "Resources and Standards of Colleges of Arts and Sciences."

TOWNER BILL UNRELIGIOUS

The character of the Towner Education bill is, moreover, decidedly unreligious. There is no trace of the sentiment of the famous Ordinance of 1787, which refers to "Religion, morality and knowledge as being necessary for good government and the happiness of mankind." Of the wording of that ordinance only the continuation of the original declaration, that "schools and means of education shall ever be encouraged," are retained by the N. E. A. The words "encourage," "encourage the States" and similar variations are interwoven in the measure to an extent which causes the reader to wonder if there is not some magic charm attached to the word in connection with this bill and the entire scheme. "Encouragement" seems to have been inserted in the document in order to veil the rank paternalism of the bill, while, on the other hand, no attempt is made to hide its unreligious character. This absence of a religious character, however, is made the more remarkable by the mutilated quotation of the Ordinance of 1787, and is besides the more surprising because many citizens, even outside of the fold of the Catholic Church, feel the need of some religious instruction in the schools. Is it a fact that the Religious Education Association has toiled in vain throughout all these years, and that the labors of this worthy organization shall be regarded as naught by the N. E. A.?

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Our objections to a federalized system of school control are based not only on the menace of Centralization, which is, indeed, a serious menace, (as has been proven by the experience of countries with an absolutistic government, e. g. France under Napoleon,

Russia,), but also on moral considerations. Under a system of federalized control, the ethics of the schools, and to a large extent, of the population at large, will be determined by the Department of Education. We have had a foretaste of what may be expected under such an arrangement. In 1918 the Bureau of Education placed its imprimatur upon a publication "Moral Values in Secondary Education," an elaboration of the Ethical Culture School of Felix Adler. ("America," Aug. 24, 1918, p. 485.) If even at this stage, when the Bureau of Education still holds a subordinate position, it endorses a species of ethical culture antagonistic to religion, what may one expect of the same Bureau after it shall have been exalted to the freedom and dignity of a Department, with its Secretary holding a seat in the Cabinet! Adler system of Ethical Culture precludes positive religion, and, if there were no other reasons to fear an extension of rank and authority of the Bureau of Education, such as the Towner bill provides, the well-warranted fear that the schools will be made to teach a morality not founded in religion under the proposed arrangement would decide us against the bill. There is a grave danger that positive Christianity will not only be ignored but indirectly combatted in the schools. And the danger must not be overlooked, that morality not based on the relations of man to God may, sooner or later, be made the religion of the country, which can be done through the agency of a federalized system of education. In fact, the frequent references made by the N. E. A. in its propaganda to the example of France permit the interpretation that the example of that country may be followed in our own United States.

SEX EDUCATION

Serious occurrences have already transpired, which increase our pessimism as to the outlook under a national Department of Education. "School Life" (issue of Jan. 16, 1919, p. 151) gave a short report on an Interstate Conference on Sex Education in High Schools, conducted under the auspices of the U. S. Public Health Service and the Bureau of Education, in conjunction with a number of universities and colleges, located in and in the vicinity of the District of Columbia, at George Washington University. There Max J. Exner, M. D., Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. International Committee, New York City, gave out the testimony he had collected from 948 men on the subject of Sex Hygiene.

This led up to a discussion of the best methods of imparting instruction in matters of sex. The press paid but slight attention to this news item, except that the "Michigan Catholic" of Detroit condemned the new attempt to foist upon the schools and the public a clumsy system of dealing with a subject which even the most prudent and the ablest educators handle with the greatest delicacy.³

The city of Detroit suffered a severe shock, when on May 16 and 17 a certain non-descript Southern Michigan Conference of Education held its meeting for the discussion of "Sex Education in the High Schools." The program contained the surprising announcement: Conducted under the auspices of the U.S. Bureau of Education and the U.S. Public Health Service." Dr. Exner seemed to be the leading spirit. A number of unblushing women read papers on the subject. The trend of the meeting was pagan and revolutionary. It developed that there are state organizations at work promoting this fad-and all this in spite of the fact that the state of Michigan has, in a recent enactment, expressly excluded sex education from the schools. Still the promoters were highly enthused over their work in the state of Michigan, until the Catholics, through the Executive Secretary of the Particular Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and two societies of Catholic women succeeded in repressing the unfounded enthusiasm. Now that H. R. 7, Mr. Towner's bill, provides, as remarked above, an appropriation of \$20,000,000 annually for physical education, is it not evident that, on the premises given, sex education will be urged and even forced upon the pupils? And if the laws of any state interfere, what is to hinder a change of the law, once the question is made an issue? A minority can always be found to achieve this end. Yet it is a solemn fact that only a few years ago this dangerous fad was thoroughly condemned throughout the length and breadth of the land, even by the N. E. A.!

SEEKING OTHER FIELDS TO CONQUER

But the outlook is serious in another direction also. We hear very strange reports of the works of the Federal Council of Churches

The Catholic paper mentioned also recommended the reading and distribution of the pamphlet on "The Teaching of Sex Hygiene in Our Schools," published a number of years ago by the Central Bureau of the Central Society.

which together with the Y. M. C. A. look upon Catholic countries in Europe and America as a field for their efforts in de-Catholisizing the Catholic inhabitants. We read in "America," May 31, p. 106, in an excellent paper by Francis Beattie, a quotation taken from the Council's Bulletin of January, 1919: "Arrangements are under way with the Commissioner of Education in Washington (i. e. P. P. Claxton, the present head of the Bureau of Education) by which a special secretary is to be added to the staff, to devote himself to the organization of the churches for the Americanization of immigrants. There have been constant and increasing cooperation with national social agencies and movements, and most unusual relations with departments of the National Government." This is, we repeat, taken from Federal Council of Churches Bulletin Jan., 1919. We may take for granted that relations such as those referred to above, are not established in favor of or in connection with, the Catholic Church.

"NATIONAL" AND "AMERICAN" AS SLOGANS

There is nothing so pleasing and acceptable to the promoters of the scheme proposed by the Towner bill as to have us remain silent and passive, and if possible to make us look upon their efforts as just and wholesome, or at least as an inevitable result of conditions and needs of the times, while they hide their real purpose from our eyes. They proclaim it as a National Education movement. The words "National" and "American," however, are being very seriously abused. There can be no national consideration of education, no viewing of education from the national standpoint, unless such consideration is based on the fact and principle that in this American nation freedom of conscience, of religion and education is an inalienable right of all citizens. No one should lay claim to a monopoly on the terms American or National as applied to an education scheme, unless he acknowledge with an open and a fair mind and with gratitude the labors involved in private educational effort, and endeavor to encourage such private initiative. All the scheming of the N. E. A. and their followers, all the attempts of the present Bureau of Education, all the alleged endorsements of State Superintendents of Schools, the endorsement by the American Federation of Labor, Rotary Clubs, etc., etc., are essentially devoid of the broad American spirit. They are anti-American because they are directed

against the principle and practice of private schools and the liberty of education, and they constitute an exhibition of ingratitude in the face of the magnificent accomplishments of private schools, especially those achieved during the late war.

RECOGNITION DUE PRIVATE EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVORS

No movement in the direction of a National policy of education is National or American in the genuine and noble sense of the word. unless it recognizes the work accomplished by the private and parochial schools and assures, as an essential principle, the purpose to encourage private and parochial schools, at least to the extent of a pledge not to interfere with them. The present movement is narrow, ungenerous, subversive of the best and highest American traditions. Is it a mere coincidence, that the Socialist Party has for years laid down as one of its political demands: "The Bureau of Education is to be made a Department of Education?" We have already pointed out the fact that the proposal of the N. E. A. fits in wonderfully with what Mr. West rightly designates as State Socialism. Once this is ascertained, there should no longer be any question about state rights, rights of parents and of their delegated agents, the churches or the communities or the individual states. The question is solved by Mr. West, who makes it plain that the creation of a federal department of education would be naught but an additional experiment in state socialism. In view of this fact, the public must not permit itself to be misled by such slogans as "Nationalization," "Standardization," "Americanization," etc. These words are a bait to the unwary and a threat to the cowardly.

MONOPOLY OF EDUCATION-TWO CLASSES OF ADVOCATES

It has been well said that there are only two classes of people who advocate state monopoly of education. They are firstly those who believe in business efficiency as carried out by a trust or monopoly as being superior to the accomplishment of individual or moderately organized private enterprise. Unite all business in a large concern, they say, and you will increase efficiency. Apply this to education, they advise, and note the results. Education, however, is something entirely different from the meat-packing industry, and similar enterprises. Besides, it must be borne in mind, that consolidation and monopolization do not per se contain any secret charm or absolute guarantee of success or increased

efficiency. The railroads and the telephone and telegraph lines have not been successfully managed under federal control, which, in this instance, is the self-same sort of control which the Towner bill would have an unmistakable tendency to establish.

Education, we have said, is something different from packing meat. Yet the June Bulletin of the N. E. A. declares: "Every solid argument used in behalf of the establishment of the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, applies with equal force in support of the establishment of a Department of Education. These Departments were created in recognition of the importance of the subjects which they represent in relation to national welfare. Education is unquestionably as vitally related to the welfare of the country, and the Government is now dealing with the subject of education more generally than it dealt with the subjects embraced in any of these departments when they were created. A Department of Education should be created as a matter of administrative efficiency and wise public policy." (P. 30.) Such and similar statements have been repeated again and again by the N. E. A. and shouted at the public until they have been more or less thoroughly absorbed by an undiscerning mass of thoughtless men and women. The truth is, however, that education is not primarily a matter for action on the part of the government. but rather a matter of right and duty of parents.

The truth is, that education has been regarded the *right* of the several states, delegated by parents to the states, not of the federal government. The truth is, further, that, if the principle were correct that the federal government should do all that it thinks it can do well, we should have complete state socialism. And the entire plan of federal control applied to education is naught but socialism applied to education. The child is not a child of the nation in the first place, but the child of parents who are citizens in a separate state and also in the Union. According to the Bolshevistic idea, that the child belongs to the State, one will be obliged consistently to consider (and, if he will, proclaim) all women the property of the State.

THE OTHER CLASS: ADVOCATES OF DE-CHRISTIANIZATION

The other set of people, who clamor for a State monopoly of education, are those who desire to eliminate all Christian ideas

from education entirely. They want a national school system, embracing all the children of the country who are to be taught a morality not based on religion; as we have pointed out above, this unreligious morality should ultimately be made the religion of the country—a theory which is not so utterly lacking in basic confirmation as many may be inclined to believe. They want a de-Christianized, laicised school after the French pattern. Of course, it is once more a mere coincidence that in the N. E. A. literature France is held up as a model for America. France has ruthlessly destroyed every expression and practice of freedom of education. Viviani, who boasted in 1916 "that they (the French infidel Government) had extinguished the lights of Heaven," declared last year in Washington, that in France they had driven God from the state, from the schools, and that "they are now driving Him from the churches." ("America," April 9, p. 25.)

FEARS NOT UNFOUNDED

If the promoters of the extension of federal power in education have any regard for private schools, especially for our Catholic schools, we should like to see an honest and sincere expression in word and deed of such regard. We fear, however, that the vast majority of them subscribe to the brutal and false statement of Van Humbeck, a member of the Masonic order, one-time Minister of Public Instruction in Belgium, who, in the seventies, declared in a lodge meeting: "Catholicism was a corpse that barred the way of progress and would have to be thrown into the grave." (Cath. Enclopedia, Belgium, vol. II, p. 402.) Fortunately Belgium has succeeded in ridding itself of such an accursed principle and has shown in a splendid way what can be accomplished in education when Christian principles are carried out.

A MISREPRESENTATION AND THE ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND

Among the arguments advanced in favor of the Towner Bill and similar measures is, that, England having sanctioned the Fisher Education Bill, we should not hesitate to secure the passage of the Towner and Smith bills. In the literature spread by the N. E. A. references to the Fisher bill are found again and again, the inference being, that we should go and do as the English legislators have done. But the argument, so oft repeated, cannot possibly have been advanced in good faith. For, as a matter of fact, the

Fisher bill, as originally drafted, gave great offence to Catholics in England, was thereupon radically changed, and, in its present form deals only with continuation schools. Moreover, England looks upon private educational enterprises with kindly respect and rewards such work as produces good results with financial aid. Mr. Asquith, one time Prime Minister of England, once declared: "I admit, as a practical man, that denominational schools are an indispensable part of our educational system. You cannot get rid of them because you cannot find any substitute for them." (Federation Bulletin, May-June, 1919). Why, in the face of the attitude taken by England in the matter, does the N. E. A. persist in misrepresenting the facts, and in omitting essential considerations in its literature? And why does it employ the oft-repeated references to the Fisher bill as a sort of lever to move American public opinion, when the reference is not based on truth and serves the purposes of the N. E. A. only through misleading innuendo?

SOME STATEMENTS AND REPLIES

The N. E. A. is guilty also of misleading the readers through its propaganda in other particulars. A series of statements and replies to these statements may best serve to show the fallacy of this sort of propaganda. In the June issue of the Bulletin published by the N. E. A., Mr. Hugh B. Magill, Field Secretary of the N. E. A. says:

Mr. Magill: "Liberty must find her only safe abiding place in organized free government where law is reverenced and obeyed."

Answer to Mr. Magill: If this is your conviction, why do you favor a system which tends to destroy the freedom of education and especially those schools in which reverence and obedience to the law is most consistently taught and practised?

Mr. Magill: "The most important subject before the American people, and the one most neglected by statesmen, is the question of public education."

Reply and Query: What do you understand by public education? Evidently only that education which, excluding religion and morality founded in religion, is conducted through the medium of schools supported by public taxation and controlled by the state. The term public education must be applied to all education carried on in a free republic for the benefit of the people. If by the carrying of any share of the burden of this education the government is saved the expense of enormous sums of money, the schools which serve to accomplish this render a real service in public education and this branch of educational effort is public spirited in the highest sense of the word. We doubt that public education in the sense of Mr. Magill's declaration is being neglected, either by the public in general or by statesmen in particular. But we do claim that those schools to which we have referred are being neglected, not alone by statesmen, but also by the N. E. A. and those whose efforts tend to disestablish them through such means as the Towner and similar bills.

Mr. Magill: "Back of these movements (primarily the N. E. A. movement) are the forward looking men who believe that education is essential to democracy and the best insurance against anarchy and social disorders."

Reply: Only that education is an insurance against anarchy and social disorders which is based on religion and theistic morality and which is given either in State or private schools, according to the wishes of the parents.

Mr. Magill: "We spent billions of wealth and thousands of lives to uphold liberty abroad, nor did anyone cavil over who was paying most. Shall we be less patriotic in caring for our own? Shall we begrudge a few hundred millions to make secure the foundations of liberty at home?"

Reply: Our defense of liberty abroad at such sacrifices is no reason why so-called leaders of the people and associations like the N. E. A. and office-holders should attempt to put into force a system which involves the danger of centralization, and which has a marked tendency to deprive Americans of the freedom of education; we must not be deceived by the statement that a Department of Education could make safe the foundations of liberty at home. The representatives of the single states in Congress must not be so sadly lacking in self-respect and in confidence in their home states as to assume as true the contention that the cause of liberty and democracy and Americanism cannot be served as well by the individual states as by a centralized system of school control. These servants of the people must not permit themselves to be won over to proposals which, to say the least, will endanger our American liberties. How many times have our churches and private schools been approached by the Government, especially during the war, to help the State? And both churches and private schools have willingly and generously upheld the Government. For which of these good deeds are the private and religious schools to be stoned to death? If while fighting for liberty abroad we have suffered the loss of freedom of conscience, of religion and education, then the war with all its sacrifices will have been a sham and a delusion.

Mr. Magill: "The ultimate success of the movement is certain. It may be hindered but it cannot be stopped. It is a part of America's unfinished work. The principle is sound. The cause is just. It is bound to win."

Reply: Each of these apodictic statements must be negatived by thoughtful and liberty-loving Americans. The reasons for the negation are all contained in the foregoing explanation.

UNWARRANTED COCKSURENESS AND CONCEIT OF THE PROPAGANDISTS

We may well ask why it is that a man who is merely field secretary of an association of private individuals dares thus to speak with an air of infallible and autocratic absolutism concerning a particular movement inaugurated by private individuals and subject to the approval or disapproval of the representatives of all the citizens of all the states comprising the Union and in a matter involving the rights of these citizens and these states, as well as the question of taxing these citizens. The very statement is so self-assertive, the pronouncement so intolerant of the views of the opposition, that one may well look upon the spirit which inspires such a position as being what people call "Prussian," autocratic and consequently unworthy of the support of citizens of a democracy. On the strength of convictions gained from the careful perusal of much of the literature spread by the N. E. A. we contend that this same spirit pervades that body, as far as this campaign is concerned, and that, if the Towner bill is to be passed at this session of the Congress, this will be done as a result of a propaganda, at once intolerant and misleading. The propaganda should fail, and the efforts for the centralization of the educational system of the country should be decisively defeated.

SOME MORE UNWARRANTED PRAISE FOR THE TOWNER BILL

In sending out its advance copy of the Towner bill, before it was christened H. R. 7, the N. E. A., on a pink slip, again announced its arguments and its propaganda thus:

"This bill has been declared to be 'the most constructive measure ever introduced in Congress.' It has been suggested that it might be properly called: 'A bill to make safe and enduring the American Republic.' It should have the active support of every intelligent patriotic citizen. For every such citizen must recognize the importance of public education from the national standpoint."

One stands aghast at such boundless conceit, such brazen selfassurance, such exclusiveness in claiming patriotism as one's own particular asset. If the N. E. A. is right, then we have had no patriotism in our country until this scheme of centralization, born in France after the Revolution, was taken up by the Socialists (vide supra) and finally simmered into the minds of the Senator from Georgia, the Representative from Iowa, and the men in the N. E. A. who have espoused the idea of establishing a system of federalization, which will inevitably tend to disregard the rights of the people, the autonomy of States composing the nation, and the specific rights of parents. If the N. E. A. is right, our presidents and statesmen from Washington down to Lincoln and from Lincoln down to Woodrow Wilson have all failed in their duty "to make safe and enduring the American Republic." In fact. all Americans for a hundred years past deserve to be censured for having neglected their first and foremost duty, which, it seems, remained for this enlightened day and for the preternaturally gifted men of the Smith and Towner and the N. E. A. tribe to discern and perform.

ONLY ONE CONCLUSION POSSIBLE

The exaggerated claims advanced by the N. E. A. should serve to condemn the entire propaganda in the eyes of all well meaning, patriotic citizens. For, the N. E. A. ventures to set up support of the Towner bill as a criterion of patriotism, which means that, no matter for what reasons, however, one may be opposed to the bill in question, one stands arraigned as deficient in loyalty to the best interests of our country. No citizen should, however, permit himself to be deceived by such audacious and self-conceited declamation. On the contrary all citizens should write at once to their Senators and Representatives in Congress and request them to oppose the proposed measure advocating a system which tends towards the federalization of the schools of the country.

H. R. 7 has been referred to the Committee on Education, which consists of Simon I. Fess, of Ohio, Chairman, Horace M. Towner, of Iowa, Edmund Platt, of New York, Frederick W. Dallinger, of Massachusetts, Albert A. Vestal, of Indiana, Sherman E. Borroughs, of New Hampshire, Daniel Reed, of New York, John M. Robison, of Kentucky. (Developments in the Senate should be watched as well as those in the House of Representatives.) It should be born in mind that several states, influenced by the N. E. A. propaganda, have already memorialized Congress in endorsements of the Smith-Towner Bills, especially Montana and (See Congressional Record, pp. 43 and 54.) These and similar declarations in favor of the movement will have to be overcome and the Congress—the House of Representatives and the Senate-will have to be persuaded that the arguments advanced in favor of the bills are misleading and that the movement tends to destroy the freedom of education and is a dangerous step forward on the path of an unwholesome and undemocratic centralization.

Our legislators must be advised that even such advocates of an extension of federal power as Mr. West (v. s. p. 177.) clearly perceive that federalization ultimately implies state socialism. Let them read what West says: " . . . The federalism of today is carrying us steadily toward socialism . . . the state socialism which employs the power of the Government to accomplish those desirable and universal results which are not otherwise attainable. The merging of federalism into socialism is already apparent. Certain it is that the growth of federalism . . . has been coincident to and parallel with the spread of the socialistic sentiment throughout the world"; West designates certain functions exercised by the Government, as "state socialism, pure and simple," and continues: "Federal legislation today is fairly saturated with the germs of socialism, even though the term is not used, but, sooner or later, the nation will be brought face to face with a demand for laws in which there will be no disguise."

The Representatives of the people in Washington should be told that while they are seeking to relieve industry of the federal control imposed during the war, they should not favor a scheme which will permit, nay, even foster the federalization of something far less material, far more intellectual, far more ideal, than factories and raw materials and finished products. Encouragement

and a degree of standardization of education are to be desired; but no sane man will contend that education cannot be encouraged, or brought to a reasonable degree of standardization without recourse to the means proposed in the Towner bill in the House and the Smith bill in the Senate. Such an imputation would be resented by each individual state in the country, and by all the citizens of all the states.

THE VERDICT

There should be but one verdict in the controversy: Centralization of education implies a denial of freedom of education; federalization of education is much more injurious than federalization of industry would be, because it would mean federalization of ideas and of conscience; federalization of the schools would tend to usurpation of private rights and of the rights of the individual states; federalization of the schools would spell the ruin of existing private and parochial elementary schools, and of private colleges and institutions of higher learning, and would necessarily imply that in future new private institutions of learning will not be erected or opened; the Smith and Towner bills tend to establish such a federal monopoly of education; therefore the Smith bill in the Senate and the Towner bill in the House of Representatives should be defeated by all means.

APPENDIX

N. E. A. Brief History. (Pittsburgh Proceedings, p. 1.)

The National Teachers' Association—Organized August 26, 1857, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Purpose.—To elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching, and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States.

The name was changed at Cleveland, Ohio, on August 15, 1870, to the "National Educational Association."

1870-1907

National Educational Association

Incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, February 24, 1886, under the name "National Education Association," which was changed to "National Educational Association," by certificate filed, November 6, 1886.

1907

National Education Association of the United States

Incorporated under a special act of Congress, approved June 30, 1906, to succeed the "National Educational Association." The charter was accepted and by-laws were adopted at the Fiftieth Anniversary Convention held July 10, 1907, at Los Angeles, Cal.

In the act of Incorporation (1907) "the purpose and object of the corporation shall be to elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching and to promote the cause of education in the United States (Sec. 21). The corporation shall annually file with the Commission of Education of the United States a report in writing, stating in detail the property, real and personal, held by the corporation, and the expenditure, etc. (Sec. 5)."

The United States Commissioner of Education, and all former presidents of said Association now living, and all future presidents of the Association shall be members of the Board of Directors for life. (Sec. 6.)

The last section shows the close relation existing between the N. E. A. and the Bureau of Education. The various changes in the organization illustrate the change of policy, from one of organizing and encouraging teachers to one of seeking to shape education in the United States.

"The National Bureau of Education (established in 1867) is not a public school bureau. It was established and maintained for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories and of diffusing such information respecting the organization of schools and school systems and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."

Commissioner P. P. Claxton, quoted in The Catholic Educational Review, April 1912, p. 342. He (Claxton) adds that he has a great admiration for the enthusiasm and energy shown by church educators and that the unfortunate allusion to private schools in a publication of the Bureau was an oversight and had been corrected in a subsequent issue.

Former Commissioner of Education E. E. Brown advocated a Department of Education.

CARDINAL O'CONNELL ON DANGEROUS TENDENCY TOWARDS CENTRALIZATION

"... Even here in America, unfortunately, we are not immune from those influences which in European countries have sacrificed the individual for the state. Centralizing tendencies, characteristic of empires and of despotic sovereignties, have been steadily weakening the props of our democratic government...."
—William Cardinal O'Connell, "The Reasonable Limits of State Activity." The Catholic Educational Association, 1919, p. 6.

"A glance back over the past fifty years of our national existence will confirm the view that we, led on by desire for centralized control, are drifting away from democratic government and, trespassing upon the rights and liberties of the citizens, are assuming functions never anticipated and never intended when the Constitution was written. A grave political and social danger lurks beneath this un-American tendency of government to enlarge the area of its activity at the expense of popular liberty..."

—Ibid., p. 10.

"...It is in the field of education that we are especially interested and it is just here that the most dangerous forces are at work; for the complete monopoly of education towards which we are tending, unless there is a vital reform, will become a reality and furnish the state with a most powerful means for crushing popular liberty and tyrannizing over its people. That there is a decided movement in the direction of centralizing authority over the educational agencies of the country cannot be denied...." Ibid. p. 22.

THE NOTED BELGIAN PRELATE, CARDINAL MERCIER, ON THE LIMITATIONS OF THE STATE IN EDUCATION

"The right to teach is only another form of the right to express one's ideas. The state cannot claim a monopoly of teaching. Private enterprise is a great factor in progress, alike in the intellectual as in the economic sphere. The action of the state must be limited to protecting, encouraging and, where necessary, seconding the initiative of others, never must it supplant it. The state has no right to mould all its citizens in one type, or to oblige them all to think alike, on the pretext of bringing about a perfect

unity in the body politic. It was this idea which led Plato, with all his genius, into the worst absurdities. The right of teaching, like that of thinking, is derived from human personality and has no direct connection with the mission of the state." Cardinal Mercier, in "Ethics," page 278.

CARDINAL MERCIER ON THE RIGHTS OF PARENTS IN EDUCATION

"All must possess certain rudiments which form the basis of all intellectual culture and are one of the conditions for sharing the life of a civilized society. This constitutes the minimum which parents are in duty bound to procure for their children. And it would seem that public authority has here the right to interfere in the last resort in order to safeguard the right of the child against any remissness or selfishness on the part of the parent. In theory scarcely anyone would be found to deny this. But it remains to inquire whether as a matter of fact the spirit and the tendencies of the modern state being such as they are, the principle of compulsory education, as it is imposed by law, does not imperil certain higher rights and interests.

Whatever answer may be given, the education enforced by the state can only deal with that minimum of knowledge that is strictly indispensable. Beyond this the intellectual education of each one must be suited to the avocation he is likely to follow. The right which each person has of choosing a career suited to his tastes and abilities stands opposed to any legal compulsion in this delicate matter.

As morality is meaningless if divorced from the idea of the Absolute—the proper object of religion—the moral upbringing of anyone must have religious education as its foundation. Parents owe to their children this moral and religious education, and this . . . because . . . society at large has an interest in the preservation of beliefs, which, to use the words of Taine, lend the strongest support to the social instinct." Mercier, in "Ethics," p. 319.

THE CURRICULUM OF THE CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.* A DISCUSSION OF ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS.

By George Johnson

(Concluded)

To the habit reactions belongs memory. The function of memory in life is one of conservation; through its medium, experience, racial as well as personal, is made to function in daily life. Important events in our own lives are recalled without great effort, but to recall things that we have learned, that do not come into our own personal history, requires studied effort. Definite associations must be formed that will enable us to hold our knowledge in readiness for use. In other words these associations must be made automatic and habitual.

Possibly no single mental power has met with greater abuse in the schools than memory. This abuse has come from two sources. There are those who regard the "training of the memory" as the main concern of education and insist upon storing the mind with all sorts of detail and demanding memorization in every branch. They underrate the higher thought processes and consider a thing known because it can be verbally reproduced. Over and against the devotees of this practice are aligned such as despise memory entirely and claim that if a subject is understood, it will be remembered.

Manifestly, both are wrong. While crimes have been committed in its name, memorizing is none the less necessary in the process of learning. Merely to understand something does not insure its retention. A thing must be forgotten a number of times before it will be remembered. But on the other hand, rote memory has its very obvious limitations; it is a low form of habit-formation and its function is always a ministering one. It lacks sureness and is subject to the uncertain conditions of the physiological concomitants of mental activity. Logical memory is more lasting and more educative. There should be an understanding of the matter before it is committed to memory for thus definite associations will be formed that will make for efficient recall. Subjects like religion, history, geography, etc., that are predominantly of a

^{*}A dissertation submitted to the faculty of philosophy of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

content nature, should not be blindly conned by rote, but should be so developed as to be adequately understood. After such development comes organization and then comes the role of memory to fix the chief points of the organized knowledge. When memory is utilized in this manner it will fulfill its appointed task. If it is simply loaded down with verbal knowledge it becomes a hindrance to effective thinking and fails to contribute to proper character-formation.

The emotional responses may be listed as attitudes, interests and ideals. Attitudes are sometimes classed with habits, for they are habits of feeling, but for the sake of emphasis, we prefer to consider them from the point of view of their emotional content rather than in their character of mechanized reactions. Attitudes are personal; they are born of the pleasure or displeasure which an object, situation or event produces in the individual mind. This in turn is the result of past experience. If in the life of an individual a thing has always been associated with the unpleasant, his attitude toward it is bound to be unfavorable; if on the other hand, it has always been attended with happy results, he will come to look upon it with favor.

The school must aid the child in developing proper attitudes. It is vain, for example, to teach the child many things about the duties of a citizen, unless the child is at the same time brought to feel the necessity of maintaining the ideals of good citizenship. A child may be able to pass a very creditable examination on the nature of Christian virtue, but unless he comes to feel in his own inmost soul the value of Christian virtue, his knowledge will prove empty indeed. In other words, the school must cultivate a sense of values. This it can do by making explicit the good that flows from nobility of conduct, the evil that results from wrongdoing, the bitterness that is the wages of sin. Attitudes should likewise be cultivated toward science, literature, art and industry. The child should be taught to appreciate the rôle of scientific achievement in daily life, the canons that govern things literary and artistic, the necessity of social cooperation, the dignity of labor and its social value. Above all he should come to feel most strongly, the importance of religion and the futility of life without its inspiring influence.

Closely bound up with attitudes are interests. On the one hand interest is a necessary condition for real learning. It makes

possible the avoidance of that division of attention and energy which are the result of forced attention.²²⁵

On the other hand, interest is the end of education, in the sense that the school must develop permanent interests, needs or desires that will last through life. A man's life is governed largely by the things that he wants, and the school must bring him to want things that are healthy and worth while. By means of interest he should be brought to hunger for those things in life which will best contribute to his own happiness and the welfare of those with whom he must live.²²⁶

The third type of emotional reaction we shall consider is the ideal. It is not a simple matter to define an ideal. It contains a cognitive element; it is the condensation or summing up of experience; it is a kind of generalization of what the race and the individual have found to be noble, true and conducive to the best interests of humanity. An ideal once grasped and understood colors the entire mental outlook. It enters into every judgment and dictates every course of action.

But an ideal is more than just a principle consciously held and adhered to. Its distinguishing characteristic is its emotional content. Ideals function powerfully in men's lives because they are felt. A man may assent to an intellectual proposition and at the same time disregard it in his active life. But when the proposition gathers unto it a large element of feeling it becomes a source of power and motive. It becomes personal, permeates all thinking, judging and acting. Precisely on this account ideals are the dominant things in life. They rule the destinies of nations as well as individuals. Very much depends on their quality and effectiveness, for a man will be no better than the ideals he cherishes.

Because ideals are predominantly emotional they are not the fruit of mere preaching. They must grow out of personal experience. Paraphrasing Thomas à Kempis, it is far better to feel the

226 Dewey, John, Interest and Effort in Education. Boston, 1913.

²²⁵ A task need not be easy because it is interesting. The effort put forth by the inventor is none the less strenuous because it is compelled by absorbing interest. In the school a task may be extremely difficult and may require the help of forced attention to be properly inaugurated. But once begun, real interest, intrinsic and not borrowed from external sources, should be aroused, and then no matter what the difficulty of the subject or the effort required, the child will find the task pleasant. The reason is that there is a personal motive; the child feels that the things he is doing answer his own personal needs.

urge of an ideal than to be able to define one. Vain effort is expended in having children write lofty themes on such subjects as honor, justice and patriotism, unless they have first come to feel within themselves the meaning and greatness of these concepts. "Art, literature (including poetry, the drama and fiction), music and religion, are the great media for the transmission of ideals and as such fulfill an educative function far more fundamental than our didactic pedagogy has ever realized."227 We would amend this statement by placing religion in the first place as the mightiest instrument for the creation of ideals, from which all other media derive their virtue. Nor may we forget the necessity of a strong ideal equipment on the part of the teacher, which will render her sensitive to the ideal implications of subject-matter on the one hand, and on the other serve to compel the children to recognize her as a model, a living lesson in ideals, and to be fired as a consequence, to imitate and emulate her.

Behind all of the cognitive and emotional elements of conduct is the will, the power of choice, the great directive force of human life. It is the ultimate basis of character. But the will is a "blind faculty;" while it directs the intellect by focusing attention now here, now there, it in turn depends upon the intellect for light and it is influenced by the emotions. There are those who would train the will directly by means of effort, hard work, forced attention. But they forget that it is possible to develop a certain obstinacy of will, or wilfulness, that is not conducive to ethical conduct. The doctrine of the freedom of the will does not deny that there are conditions prerequisite to a free act. Catholic ethics lists ignorance and passion among the obstacles to a free human act. The mind must be brought captive to the True and the heart to the Good, that the will may not be impeded in its choice, but may enjoy that liberty which is its birthright. In the light of adequate knowledge as a basis of choice, and with the emotions disciplined and brought to heel, the will may be more effectively inured to the difficulty of choosing the right rather than the expedient, the dutiful rather than the comfortable, which will always demand effort on the part of fallen man. 228

227 Bagley, William C., The Educative Process, p. 224.

^{253.} Even with all due insistence on the acquisition of knowledge, the building up of habits and the development of attitudes, interests and ideals, there will be plenty of opportunity in the course of an ordinary school day, for training in obedience, which is, as we have seen, the very root of culture. And this training will be the more effective for the fact that reason and ideals can be appealed to and the appeal appreciated.

Yet, granted that the aim of Christian education is to transmit to the child knowledge of God, of man and of nature, and to foster the proper intellectual, habitual and emotional reactions to this knowledge, we still lack a definite norm for determining the limits of the elementary curriculum. Accordingly we turn to the external or social factors that control conduct in daily life. For conduct is not something isolated; it does not function in a vacuum. Character must reveal itself in the midst of real, tangible circumstances. It remains for us then to consider the social controls of conduct, the term "social" being here used in a broad sense as signifying those things which affect society and which society must take cognizance of. Conduct from this point of view may be termed social efficiency.

In the first place, the child must become efficient in his religious The end of man is union with God, and Catholic Education would surely prove a sorry failure if it fitted him to gain the whole world, yet suffered him to lose his soul. Consequently of primary importance is that knowledge, those habits, attitudes, interest and ideals which constitute a man a good Catholic. The child must be trained to all the ordinary duties of Catholic living, such as attendance at Sunday Mass, frequentation of the Sacraments, daily prayers, respect for the laws of the Church, appreciation of the major devotions, especially that to the Blessed Sacrament and the Blessed Virgin. Over and above this, there should be loyalty to the Church, showing itself in loyalty to the parish, which is the child's point of contact with the Church.229 There should be interest in all that concerns the Church whether at home or abroad, love of the Holy See, zeal for Catholic Missions, appreciation of Catholic social and educational activities. In a word, the child must become an efficient Catholic, thinking, and feeling and judging with the Church and striving ever to approximate her ideals of living.

But being an efficient Catholic calls for efficiency outside the hallowed sanctum of religion. The love of God demands love of neighbor and right-ordered love of self. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Religious training that has not been supplemented by moral training, easily degenerates into cant and hypocrisy.230 The reason is that, true religion is not a thing by itself, a

²²⁹ Shields, Thomas E., "Standardization of Catholic Colleges." The Catholic Educational Review, Vol. XII, No. 3, p. 200.

²³⁰ Herbart, John Frederick, Outlines of Educational Doctrine, Lange-

DeGarmo Translation, p. 14.

matter of sentiment or devotion, but it is as broad as life and enters into all of life's relations. First of all, the individual must be morally efficient. The tendency outside the Church is to confound the moral with the social. That is moral which increases the sum total of group happiness; that is immoral which contributes to group woe.231 The good of society is the ultimate norm of morality. This is Utilitarianism, and it is false because an act is morally good when it is directed by Reason to the ultimate Good of man, and that ultimate Good is not the welfare of society, but the Infinite Good which alone can satisfy the cravings of man's highest appetite, his will.232 The happiness of society is a subsidiary end, though a necessary one, and each individual is bound to promote it to the best of his abilities. Moral efficiency means directing one's life in conformity with the will of God for the purpose of saving one's soul. "Christianity, while acting as the great socializing agency, has never lost sight of the individual or his claims. In her teaching each individual has an immortal soul which must be saved and which must discharge its duties toward God and fellow-man. In the discharge of these personal duties, the individual needs the help that education is designed to give, and while he is bound to love his neighbor, this love of neighbor does not blot out his personal claim to life, liberty and happiness here, and to eternal well-being hereafter."233

The individual should likewise be efficient in the care of his body. The promotion of physical well-being is today considered part of the school's function and rightly so. Mens sana in corpore sano, is the old adage and its truth needs no demonstration. Service of God and neighbor will be the more effective, given health. Moral action depends on two elements, knowledge, habits and ideals, whence spring strong motives, and strong inhibitions that restrain evil tendencies. Now in any state of consciousness there is the focus and the margin. The focal idea is that to which attention is being paid at the time being; but at the same time there are ideas, sensations, emotions on the margin, of which the subject may be aware, but to which he is not giving his direct attention. The more ideas that a man may hold in marginal

233 Shields, Thomas E., Philosophy of Education, p. 242.

²³¹ Bobbitt, Franklin, The Curriculum, p. 165. Dewey says, "The Moral and Social quality of conduct are, in the last analysis identical with each ther." Democracy and Education, p. 415.

220 Cronin, Michael, The Science of Ethics. New York, 1909. Vol. I, p. 308.

consciousness, the more capable he is of seeing a multitude of relations and, as a consequence, the better able he is of forming an adequate judgment. Now when a man's vitality is low his marginal life is narrowed and he is not able to hold as many things in mind at once. Concentrated attention becomes well-nigh impossible and judgment is difficult. As a consequence he will be prone to give himself over to the easy control of instinct and impulse and to shirk the effort of acting according to his ideals. At the same time, the inhibitions that he has built up in the course of his experience, will tend to break down. He does not see the consequences of his act in marginal consciousness and his soul becomes an easy prey to evil. The physical organism instead of an ally has become an obstacle to the mind.²³⁴

The school should reveal to the child the secret of keeping alive and well. It should impart to him information about such material things as food, clothing and shelter, and the means of producing, distributing and utilizing the same. Here are suggested correlations with industrial and domestic arts. Information should likewise be given concerning the care of the body, the avoidance of fatigue and the manner of keeping up the bodily tone. All of this goes under hygiene. But, says Bobbitt, "Good physical training can result but from one thing, namely, right living. . . . Learning the facts from books will not accomplish it: nor good recitations; nor good marks on examinations. Nothing will serve but right living twenty-four hours in the day, seven days in the week and all the weeks of the year."235 There must be plenty of room in the curriculum for activities that will serve to put into practice things that have been learned from books and teachers. This means physical exercises in the classroom, but especially organized work in the play-ground. It means likewise watchfulness as to cleanly habits and care to detect evidences of malnutrition when they appear. There should also be respect for the findings of modern medical science and the inculcation of the proper attitude toward such things as vaccination and quarantine. Care in this will contribute to more efficient conduct in every department of human life.

But conduct must also be controlled by man's social relations. The love of God implies love of Neighbor. "If any man say, I

²³⁴ Bobbitt, Franklin, The Curriculum, p. 174.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 181.

love God, and hateth his brother; he is a liar. For he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not? And this is the commandment we have from God, that he, who loveth God, love also his brother."236 Democracy demands cooperation. The individual must recognize the necessity of thinking, feeling and acting in harmony with the group, and of sacrificing his own personal interests when they run counter to the welfare of the group. Secular education would achieve this ideal by appealing to natural, temporal motives, by impressing upon the individual the importance of society, and by attempting to convince him that the good of society is the end of his existence. But these motives are bound to prove futile in a crisis. Experience shows the individual that it is quite possible for him to be happy and comfortable, even when all is not well with society, and on the other hand to be quite miserable in the midst of seemingly ideal social conditions. Hence, when there is question of his own selfish interest, which is always a tangible thing, as against the rather intangible welfare of the group, the former will in all likelihood prevail. Public opinion may serve to deter men from the grosser exhibitions of selfishness, but it does not reach down into the seclusion of private life. As a matter of fact, public opinion sometimes puts a premium on self-interest, as for example, when it pays homage to Success, which in only too many cases is ability to overreach and circumvent one's neighbor. Christian charity is the only genuine social efficiency. It keeps the individual mindful of the fact that we are all children of a common Father. It teaches him to identify his brother, who may not always be very lovable, with Jesus Christ, Who is all-lovable. The poor man must see Christ in the wealthy capitalist who dazzles him with the magnificence of his living. The rich man must see Christ in the beggar who grovels at his door. The machine operative must see Christ in the foreman who is harsh and exacting. The foreman must see Christ in the operative who tends to shirk and be careless. The brother must see Christ in the sister who is vain, frivolous and selfish. The sister must see Christ in the brother who is rude, sullen and unsympathetic. For "as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."

But we cannot expect that Religion will work itself out in social life in some sort of automatic fashion. Its social equivalents must

²³⁶ I of St. John, IV, 20, 21.

be made explicit. The child must be taught to apply the Truths of Holy Faith to the circumstances of his daily life. He should come to realize the social significance of the Ten Commandments. The chapter in the Catechism on the Virtues should be learned in such a way that it will function in daily social intercourse, and not amount to a mere series of verbal definitions. The so-called natural or acquired virtues should be insisted upon, not by mere preaching but by affording plenty of opportunity in the classroom for their cultivation; for virtues are habits and as such are subject to all the laws of habit-formation. Above all there should be cultivated a personal devotion to Our Blessed Lord, a] real Friendship with Him, for this is the foundation of true social efficiency.

Social efficiency demands economic or occupational efficiency. This feature has been treated sufficiently above in Chapter III. The occupational element in the elementary curriculum should be broad and general; vocational education in the narrow sense of the word is a matter for the secondary school. The aim should be to imbue every child with ideals of self-support, to teach him the place and function of industry in modern life, to lead him to an appreciation of the dignity of labor and his own dependence thereon and to build up such manual skill and dexterity as will stand him in good stead regardless of his future position in life.

The socially efficient man is likewise a good citizen of the State. Patriotism, or love of country, has always been a cardinal point in Catholic teaching, for it is directly implied in the love and service of God. The State is one of the means destined by God Himself, to aid man in working out his eternal destiny. It answers an inborn need of man, for man must associate if he would live. The true Christian sees in the laws of the State an evidence of the will of God and he obeys them accordingly.

Hence it is the office of the Catholic School to foster civic efficiency. This calls for knowledge of the nature and constitution of the State and the duties of a good citizen. It also demands the development of civic virtue, that faith and trust and love of fellowman which make for security and solidarity, that disinterestedness and readiness to serve the public good which make for cooperation, that obedience which lends power to the law. Training for citizenship is no longer considered merely a matter of studying the Constitution and the workings of the machinery of government. Its aim is to aid the child to understand the nature of his own

community, whether it be the home, the Church, the school, the city, the state or the nation, for to all these groups he owes allegiance. Likewise he must understand and appreciate the need and function of government as the organized sovereign will of the group. Finally, habits of civic action must be cultivated. These refer not only to the state but to the home, the neighborhood, the community, the school and the parish. Among the topics that might come under training for civic efficiency, are Health, Protection of Life and Property, Recreation, Education, Civic Beauty, Wealth, Communication, Transportation, Migration, Charities, Correction, Government Agencies, Voluntary Agencies. Of course, all of this will not be accomplished in the class in Civics, but the civic implications of the other branches must be brought out. Religion, Geography, History, Nature Study, Industrial Arts, even Arithmetic are rich in civic elements.²³⁷

Finally, there must be adequate preparation for conduct in time of leisure. With the development of machinery and labor-saving devices, working hours are becoming shorter and the average man has more time to himself. It is this leisure time that is fraught with the greatest peril; during it a man saves or loses his soul.

Now the occupations of leisure are manifold; they are physical, intellectual, social and aesthetic. They include conversation, observation of men and things, hobbies, sport, games, reading, travel, music, painting, study—whatever is done with no other end in view save personal pleasure and delight. Leisure is the play of man.²³⁸

Practically every element in the curriculum should contribute to the proper use of leisure. But those studies are of particular importance, which develop taste. Literature, music, drawing, play an important role in this connection. A child who has been taught to love the best in books, whose soul has been attuned to the noblest in music, who can appreciate the harmony of line, tone, color and massing and knows from experience the difficulty of technical execution, will hardly turn for enjoyment to the crude, the low and the salacious. But in teaching subjects like music, it must be remembered that the prime purpose for the majority of children is enjoyment. Too great an insistence on the mere technical elements will defeat the purpose of the instruction.

²³⁷ Dunn, Arthur W., "Civic Education in Elementary Schools as Illustrated in Indianapolis," *United States Bureau of Education Bulletin*, 1915, No. 17.

²³⁸ Bobbitt, Franklin, *The Curriculum*, p. 207.

Here again the process is from content to form. Knowledge about the art is likewise important. The children should derive an interest in the history of music; they should be taught something of the evolution of musical instruments; they should know something of the lives of composers and of the greater forms of musica composition, such as the oratorio, the symphony and the opera. All of these things will carry over into later life and will afford sources of noble enjoyment in the hours when the day's toil is over. 239

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion suggests certain working principles which should govern the making of a curriculum for the Catholic elementary school in the United States.

I. The nature of democratic society demands that the elementary school should provide the same general, fundamental education for all the children of all the people. Only thus can that sense of interdependence and need for cooperation which is essen-

tial to a democracy be developed and fostered.

II. The elementary curriculum should include all those things which are essential to democratic living. Its function is to prepare the child for effective participation in the affairs of life, whether he goes on to a higher school or not. Hence it should present such information concerning God, man and nature, and cultivate such knowledge, build up such habits, foster such attitudes, interests and ideals, as will enable the child at the completion of his course to take his place in life, a thorough Catholic and an efficient member of society, truly Christian in his own indivudal character, able to maintain himself economically, realizing his duties as a good citizen, prepared to make the proper use of the goods of life.

III. In order to effect this end, the elementary curriculum must make adequate provision for training in the use of the tools of education, the languages and mathematical arts. But these should not constitute the end of elementary education. Rather they should be made to subserve the higher interests of content and they will be best acquired through the interest and motivation that content affords.

IV. That the various branches of the curriculum may best serve the ends for which they are destined, they should be effectively

²³⁹ Aronovici, Carol, "Organized Leisure as a Factor in Conservation." The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, p. 373.

correlated. The unity of the mind and the nature of knowledge as well as the interests of economy of time and effort demand this.²⁴⁰

In conclusion it is well to remind ourselves of the circumstances of the moment in which we are living. The old order is changing and what the ultimate result of this change may be, no man can say. Perhaps never has the world been in greater need of the guidance of Christian principles. Forces are abroad that know not Christ and they seek to overthrow all the institutions that civilization has built up, that they may thereby eradicate the evils that pervade our social structure. So keen are they for destruction that they forget entirely to provide anything constructive.

But on the other hand, the social evils of the day are palpable and cry aloud for remedy. This remedy can only come from the uprooting of the selfishness that has caused the ills, and the substituting of Christian charity. Cooperation must take the place of unrestricted competition; faith and trust must supplant mutual fear and jealousy. All parties in the struggle must learn to cherish the common good above their own selfish interests.

The Catholic Church alone in all the world today possesses the secret of true social regeneration. It is the duty of her children to put it into practice. The starting-point is the school where a new generation is being prepared for the struggle ahead. The function of the Catholic school should be understood in the full light of the Church's mission. It is not merely a preparation for higher education, but a preparation for Christian living. It must prepare the pupil to further the cause of Christ in the work-shop, the council-chamber, the office, the store, as well as in the sanctuary. While we need good priests, we also need an intelligent laity who by their lives and deeds will carry the sacerdotal message into the mazes of every-day life. There are diversities of gifts and diversities of vocations. All must be fostered for all are intended "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the Body of Christ."

²⁴⁶ This last point opens up another great question that needs to be scientifically examined. In the secular schools, various attempts have been made at correlation, some of them more or less successful. The difficulty, however, has always been to discover a natural core, or center, around which the various branches could be grouped. That difficulty is largely obviated in the Catholic curriculum, for we possess the element of synthesis in religion. How well religion serves for the organizing of knowledge can be seen in the education of the Middle Ages, whose unity no other system has even approximated. Religion is the basis of human life, and consequently of human knowledge. Just as its disappearance from social life results in lawlessness, so its rejection from the realm of knowledge means intellectual anarchy.

THE TEACHER OF ENGLISH

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ell of A highbrow is a person who is conscious only of the existence of the intellect when in the presence of works of art or science.

Sometimes the term is applied to artists themselves—thus Shakespeare is considered highbrow. Such a use of the term is of course oblique, and due entirely to the mischievous activities of the true highbrow as defined in the first paragraph.

Lack of a true fellow-feeling for the rest of humanity is naturally no small element in the character of the highbrow. In this sense the highbrow is inevitably a snob.

When language and literature are understood as the heart and soul of a people expressed in their common means of communication, and when science is in its proper and useful place as the servant and not the master of society, then the existence of highbrows becomes morally impossible and they soon vanish from among their tormented victims. There are evidences that this millennium is not far off; in fact, sharp observers predict that it is just around the corner.

T. Q. B.

NOTES.

The prohibition amendment to the Constitution has brought a new word into current use—"highjacking." It describes raids by armed bandits on private stores of liquors.

It is reported that Gilbert K. Chesterton will visit the United States next fall for his long-promised lecture tour. He has now gone upon a journey to the Holy Land, of which he will write a volume of impressions.

A collection of abridged novels edited by Edwin A. Grozier, editor of the Boston Post, is being prepared for early publication by the Harpers. It will be in four volumes under the general title "One Hundred Best Novels Condensed," and will include among the authors represented Dickens, Tolstoi, Defoe, Sienkiewicz, Blasco Ibanez, Booth Tarkington, Rupert Hughes and Margaret Deland. The condensations have been written by various literary men.

There are 15,000 motion-picture theaters in the United States,

providing 8,000,000 seats. Their gross revenues for 1919 are estimated to have been more than \$800,000,000. Producers spend over \$40,000,000 a year for film alone. At the present time almost 500,000,000 linear feet of motion pictures are being made in America annually, of which over 200,000,000, valued at close to \$10,000,000, are being exported abroad. American motion pictures practically dominate the foreign motion-picture market. The growth of the industry in the last six years has been so great and rapid that it exceeds in proportion the growth of any other industry. Today the motion-picture industry is the fifth in point of size and importance throughout the country.

Motion pictures do not injure the eyes, according to a bulletin issued by the United States Public Health Service. It is admitted that many people suffer from eyestrain after watching the screen for any length of time, but this, says the bulletin, is because the eyes are defective.

"When eye trouble comes on after the reading of printed pages," the bulletin continues, "one does not blame the book, but thinks at once that he probably needs glasses. Eye discomfort at the movies, likewise, should be regarded as a danger signal and should send the sufferer to a doctor's office for examination."

"Othello" has been revived at the New Thea'er, London, England, with Matheson Lang as the Moor and Arthur Bourchier as Iago.

There is now visible at the Plymouth Theater, New York City, one of the great, unforgettable performances of our time, the Richard III of John Barrymore. It is fervently to be hoped that it will have an extensive presentation on the "road."

Science has utilitarian values. But its instruments are junk when it comes to solving the Mysteries. For every veil that science lifts from the matter falls over its own eyes.

Back to the human soul! You shall see by closing the eyes! The mystery of space, like the Kingdom of God, is within you! Progress is involution, not evolution! You can only enlarge the outer world by excavating the inner world! The Fourth Dimension is not a place, but a plane of consciousness that will evolve all the furniture and choirs of another heaven and earth as soon

as it is internalized. The universe is first infoliated, like the oak in the acorn, like man in the life germ, and is afterward exfoliated. When the principle of exfoliation, or involution, ceases the whole universe will be drawn back into its original form of potential nothingness.—Benjamin De Casseres.

The constitutionality of a state law designed to curtail use of foreign languages in Nebraska schools as an Americanization measure has been upheld by the State Supreme Court. The law which applies to all public, private, parochial and denominational schools in the state, provides:

That foreign languages shall not be employed in giving instruction on any subject to pupils below the ninth grade.

That foreign languages may be taught in the ninth and higher grades.

Dr. Frederick Martin, Director of Speech Improvement under the Board of Education of New York City, insists that correction of speech defects in the schools is a major item in the movement for Americanization of aliens. In his five principal classifications of defects is the vital one of foreign accent. Having estimated that of the 900,000 pupils enrolled in the city schools 200,000 spoke with a foreign accent, Dr. Martin opened a free "speech clinic" of his own. The Board of Education became interested in this experiment, which was incorporated in the schools' program three years ago.

Adults as well as children receive treatment. In one year 385 men and women, some of whom had been unable to obtain work because of serious speech defects, and others who had lost their positions owing to faulty speech, were cured.

When America entered the war, thousands of men were barred from the service because of defects of speech. The Government engaged Dr. Martin to solve the problem, and after a short period of training hundreds of young men recovered and were ready for service. Later the shell-shocked soldiers began to return, many bereft of speech, a few totally deaf and dumb. A clinic was opened at Cape May, with excellent results.

Dr. Martin himself was for years a victim of stuttering. He cured himself and developed a system which had already proved successful in France, involving neither surgery nor medicine. He

teaches the patient the art of a natural voice production and the necessity of complete mastery of the nerves.

"The greatest burden of our work in correcting foreign accent, says Dr. Martin, "is among the people of Russian-Jewish origin. Their speech in general is guttural, nasal, and with a rising inflection at the end of phrases, sentences, and emphatic words. They also find much difficulty with the vowels, giving them the wrong values and at the same time showing a tendency to shorten them, as: Gaw for go, or mit for meat. The Germans, Bohemians and Hungarians find our short vowels exceedingly difficult. In our speech the tongue is far more active than in that of the Teutonic race, and the mouth less. Therefore it is extremely essential that children of Teutonic origin, including all the Aryans of northwestern Europe. should be taught particular attention in the use of the tongue."

Youngsters of Hellenic origin, according to Dr. Martin, have a tendency to speak too rapidly to do justice to the Anglo-Saxon words. They also place all sounds very far forward in the mouth. This is corrected by repeated use of the vocal gymnastics. The children of the Latin races encounter their chief difficulty in our diphthongal ou or ow, which is unknown in their language. The Italian lengthens the English vowels, and so we have him saying heet for hit.

"Spaniards," said Dr. Martin, "find their trouble in the production of sk and of st when final, as in 'waist' or 'ask.' This is due to the error of protruding the tongue too far on lingual palatal sounds, thus producing such sounds linguadentally with a lisping effect in their speech. The fault can be corrected by teaching the proper placing of the tongue in the articulation of all lingual palatal sounds. The slight nasal accent noticeable in the French, due to a difference in their production of the vowel sounds, can be corrected only by diligent practice of the vocal gymnastics and the accompanying rules.

"Teach a foreign-born child to think and speak in pure English, without a foreign accent, and it is my opinion that we will have weeded out one of the chief factors of radicalism. It stands to reason that a man, in the long run, is more than likely to feel a love and patriotism for the country whose language he speaks, and when this fact is fully recognized I feel pretty sure that there will be no more fertile fields in which the apostles of any 'isms' may sow

their seeds of disloyalty and discord."

THOMAS QUINN BEESLEY.

EDUCATIONAL NOTES

Only the teachers can paint the proper directions "Be Thrifty" on the signboards of the Road to Happiness, declared Miss Margaret W. Stoddard, assistant educational thrift director for the states of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, in a recent meeting of teachers at Johnson, Vt.

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"When one chooses the teachers' profession," said Miss Stoddard, "we assume the choice is made through a real desire to serve. Certainly no one teaches from the standpoint of pecuniary reward. So we turn to you now, not to ask you to do something for the government, but to let you know how you can help the whole world along the road to happiness. We can't teach all the older people in the world to distinguish between what they want and what they need, but through the schools we can teach the children the economic facts of thrift, saving and safe investment which in the next generation will make the world a happier place in which to live.

"Neither the profiteer nor the Government should be blamed for the present high cost of living. The difficulty lies in the public, the people who are engaged in a mad orgy of spending. The old conception of thrift which brings to mind scrimping, parsimony and miserliness is as old and as far outdated as an early method of grammar. Thrift means something bigger, finer, broader. It means steady earning, careful saving, wise buying and judicious investment.

"In order to teach these things it only needs that the teacher have it in mind for such regular or incidental attention as may be best in each subject. It is a simple matter to give an arithmetic example a thrift aspect by the inclusion of a word or phrase embodying the idea of thrift in earning, saving, buying or investing.

"It certainly adds to the interest of geography to prove that the most prosperous countries in the world are those that have diligently tilled the soil and manufactured necessities from raw material. In history the part that thrift has played in the growth of individuals and nations may be noted; the thrift of good government emphasized. And so it goes through each and every subject. "Teachers must see the vision in this work, must realize that the hope of America in this great work lies in the schools."

Miss Stoddard concluded by calling to the attention of the teachers the opportunity for practical exercise of the principles taught through the government savings securities, Thrift Stamps and Savings Stamps, and urged that each teacher take advantage of the machinery thus furnished in impressing the lessons taught.

A terrific arraignment of the reaction and waste which have seized on the American people as a cause for the present economic evils now threatening the nation was made recently by R. C. Leffingwell, assistant secretary of the Treasury, in an address before the Academy of Political Science at New York. Liberty Bonds and Victory Notes, he said, were never meant to be used as spending money, and their misuse in that way is the primary reason for the fall in price of those securities.

"Since Armistice day," he continued, "the world has not only failed to make progress toward the restoration of healthy, economic life, but in fact has receded further from a sound position. We have failed to restore peace and peace conditions in Europe and in America, unsound economic ideas have in many instances prevailed and the effort is being made first here and then there to improve the condition of some of the people at the expense of all of the people.

"At this most critical moment in the history of Europe, when our own financial and economic stake in Europe's affairs is so great that disaster there could only mean disaster here, many of our own people have turned gamblers and wasters. For plain living and high thinking, we have substituted wasting and bickering. We enjoy high living while we grumble at the high cost of living—of silk stockings and shirts for the poor, of automobiles for men of small means, of palaces for the profiteer and the plutocrat."

Regarding the depreciation in the market price of Liberty Bonds and Victory Notes, Mr. Leffingwell said: "In the history of finance, no device was ever evolved so effective for procuring saving as the Liberty Loan campaigns. A year ago it was freely predicted by financial authorities that Victory Notes would shortly go to a premium and that Liberty Bonds would be selling at or near par within a year or two.

"Every one knows why these sanguine expectations have not

been realized. With the armistice, and still more after the Victory Loan, our people underwent a great reaction. Those who bought Liberty Bonds as a matter of patriotism but not as investors began to treat their bonds as so much spending money. Those who had obeyed the injunction to borrow and buy Liberty Bonds ignored the complimentary injunction to save and pay for them. A \$50 bond in the hands of a patriot turned spendthrift was to him a \$50 bill, to be spent Saturday night, or to her a new hat; and if the \$50 turned out to be a \$45 bill, small matter. This was the first and most immediate cause of the depreciation of Liberty Bonds."

Mr. Leffingwell declared that inflation since the armistice is attributable to world inflation and the internationalization of prices; heavy expenditures by our government and reaction and waste among the people.

"Our own prices are being inflated," he continued, "and our own banking and currency position expanded by feverish speculation in European currencies, credits and securities. The government of the United States has been slow to realize upon its salvageable war assets and to cut down expenditures.

"Instead of telling the people frankly and boldly that prices are high because they are wasting, we fix prices and prosecute profiteers in order that the people may buy more and pay less. Instead of telling the people that Liberty Bonds have depreciated because they are treating their bonds as spending money, we clamor that the rate of interest upon the bonds is too low and urge a bonus to bondholders disguised as a refunding operation.

"We must get together, stop bickering, and face the critical situation which confronts the world as we should a foreign war. We must cut our government expenditures to the quick, abjure bonuses, and realize promptly on all salable war assets, applying the proceeds to the war debt. We must have a national budget with teeth in it.

"And above all WE MUST WORK AND SAVE. We must produce more; but, more important still, WE MUST CONSUME LESS."

It might be added that it is not enough to save unless those savings are safely and profitably invested, and it is for this reason that the Treasury Department has adopted the issue of savings securities, War Savings Stamps and Treasury Saving Certificates as a permanent policy.

YOUR LIBERTY BOND

The United States Government borrowed money from you to finance the war. You hold the Government's promise to pay you back. This promise is called a Liberty Bond or Victory. Note. On this bond is stated the conditions under which the Government borrowed the money from you.

For instance: If you hold a bond of the Third Liberty Loan, it states that on April 15th and October 15th of each year until maturity you will receive interest on the amount you paid for the bond. Other issues bear other rates of interest and other maturity dates, all of which are clearly stated on the bond.

Now, if you keep your bond until the date when the Government pays you in full for it, you do not need to worry if, in the meantime, the price is low one day or high the next. You and Uncle Sam are living up to your agreement with each other, and neither will lose by it.

On the other hand, if you sell your Liberty Bond now, you will find that the man you sell it to will not give you a dollar for every dollar you paid for it. The price has been brought down because so many people are offering to sell their bonds. If the market is flooded with tomatoes, you can buy them cheap; but if everyone is clamoring for tomatoes and there are few to be had, the price goes up. The same is true of Liberty Bonds. Short-sighted people are dumping them on the market, and wise ones are buying them.

The best advice that can be given to the owner of a Liberty Bond is this: Hold the bond you bought during the war; it is as safe and sound as the United States Government itself.

Buy as many more at the present low rate as you can afford. If you hold them to maturity, you are bound to make the difference between what they sell at now and their face value. You will also receive good interest on your investment.

Hold on to your Liberty Bonds and buy more.

GEOGRAPHIC NEWS BULLETIN

Prepared weekly by the National Geographic Society (founded in 1888 for the increase and diffusion of geographic knowledge), general headquarters, Washington, D. C., for Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education.

Announcement

This issue of the Geographic News Bulletin is the last for the school year 1919-1920.

The Bureau of Education has arranged with the National Geographic Society to resume its issuance at the beginning of the coming school year in September.

Thousands of letters of commendation indicate that the Bulletins have served an important educational end, in tying up the news of the day—which was never more significant—with its geographic and historic background.

During the coming year of further readjustments of nations and peoples, of shifting boundary lines, and of political, economic and social changes the world over, it is felt that it is especially needful that every means be employed to assure an accurate and intelligent comprehension of current geography and history. Hence, despite an unexpected demand for this material, and rising costs of printing, the National Geographic Society has assumed this burden, in cooperation with the Bureau of Education, as a part of The Society's work for the diffusion of geographic knowledge.

To Order Bulletins for Next School Year

To assure the most advantageous distribution of the Geographic News Bulletin, and to conserve paper, it is essential that school officials and teachers observe the following simple method of ordering.

Any teacher may have sent to her one copy of the Geographic News Bulletin throughout the school year without charge Superintendents and principals may order bulletins sent to teachers—on the basis of one copy per teacher.

But in ordering in bulk names of teachers who will receive the Bulletin must accompany the request. The Bulletins will be sent in bulk, if desired, but it obviously is necessary that the Bureau have the names of teachers so that there be no duplication.

Moreover, teachers who ordered the Geographic News Bulletin before May 1, 1920, must request it again. Teachers change addresses or resign so frequently that the waste of sending Bulletins to old addresses must be avoided. In no case can Bulletins be sent to individuals other than

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teachers.
It is suggested that the following order form be used:
Bureau of Education,
Department of Interior,
Washington, D. C.
Kindly send the Geographic News Bulletin for the school year of 1920-21
for class-room use, to
Name
School or Home Address
CityState
I agree if I stop teaching to notify you so that there may be no waste.
I am a teacher in
School
City and State.
Tarchers ordering Bulleting should fill in both blanks over if there is

duplication in the addresses.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Painting and the Personal Equation, by Charles H. Woodbury, N.A. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1919.
Pp. 196.

Through the courtesy of the author and his publishers, the REVIEW was enabled to present to its readers in advance several interesting pages from this volume. The book is divided into three parts of unequal length under the titles "The Painter," "The Student," "The Public." The purpose of the volume is succinctly stated by the author, "The chapters which are addressed to the student are the substance of six lectures given at Oganquit, Me., in connection with the course of instruction in out-of-door painting. They were accompanied by a criticism of the several hundred sketches made by the class each week. The purpose was to direct the mind along orderly and constructive lines and to furnish a basis for individual expression. Although the immediate object was to instruct in painting, it is apparent that consideration of the psychological factor must be of the same importance in public appreciation as in technical performance. For this reason the recognition of these organic principles opens the new era in which they will be of equal value to the general public as to the painter himself. There are as many realities as there are men."

The characteristics of the author stand out as sharply in the pages of this book as they do in his landscapes, or had we better say his seascapes, for it is in the painting of the sea and its moods that the author traces the play of conscious phenomena. He paints the suggestion of motion so vividly that it is hard to realize that we are looking at a canvas where all things remain in situ. He has cultivated the art of suggesting a train of thought and the restraint that keeps him from interfering with its natural course. The book has a message for those that have eyes to see and ears to hear, but its message must remain inaccessible to the untrained mind, to the thoughtless, and to those who deal only in the obvious.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

A Woman's Man, by Marjorie Patterson. New York: George H. Doran & Co., 1919. Pp. 336.

This is one more version of the eternal theme. A woman of ability and without scruples married to a man who is partly dominated by her, quite aware of her amours, and still lives with her. The evil influence that this woman exerts on the young men of her acquaintance whom she plays with, all forms an unsavory diet for the young and a distasteful diet for those who have reached maturity.

Marty Lends a Hand, by Harold S. Latham. New York: MacMillan Co., 1919. Pp. 202.

This is a boy's story. The plot is improbable enough in places, but the story is decidedly wholesome. It portrays an energetic intelligent boy who strives for high ideals and at the same time makes good. It points out the influence of the right kind of companions and the right sort of teacher. The dramatic incident showed the boy defeating the sabotage plot. Of course a love story runs through it, but it is a clean, wholesome story of boy and girl of school days and honorable emulation.

The Rain Girl, a romance of today, by the author of Patricia Brent, Spinster. New York: Geo. H. Doran Co., 1919. Pp. 307.

An interesting story and clean. It is the old love theme, but its influence exerted by a wholesome girl helps to build up a man with less character than he should have. It also presents the story of staunch loyalty between two men that is wholesome and good to meet.

Open Sesame, by Mrs. Baillie Reynolds. New York: Geo. H. Doran & Co., 1918. Pp. 290.

This is a story of German intrigue on the southern borders of France. An American girl is the heroine who unmasks the plot, and she is of course rewarded accordingly. There is a thrilling experience and a rescue at the critical moment through the girl's heroism. The story is well told, the interest is sustained throughout, and it contains no really objectionable matter.

Mercier, the Fighting Cardinal of Belgium, by Charlotte Kellogg, of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. Foreword by Brant Whitlock, the American Ambassador to Belgium. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1920. Pp. lx+249.

There has been a very generous surfeit of the propaganda literature of the war. Its horrors and its hates were depressing and since the Armistice the wrangling over the Treaty has nauseated multitudes who made their sacrifices in the cause of liberty and who hoped that their sacrifices would bring permanent peace to the world. It is strange, however, that men calling themselves Christians should hope to escape the evil consequesces of a propaganda of hatred and savagery, not to speak of its many-sided untruths.

The principle that the end justifies the means has long been execrated, nevertheless the press and the peoples of the Western world seem to regard any statement whether it be true or untrue that would tend to fan the flame of rage and hatred among the populations of the allied nations as a virtue, forgetting the statement of the master that "As you sow, so shall you reap." The fever of unrest, the insatiable greed of profiteers, the spread of bolshevism and anarchy, are, after all, but legitimate fruitage of our own sowing.

In the midst of all this depression it is a relief indeed to turn our eyes toward the two great heroic figures that rose above the turmoil and the strife in Belgium and gave proof to the world that heroism and exalted virtue still dwell in our midst. There are many who feel that the Church and State should be separated in the schools and in the Council Chambers of the nation, but King Albert and Cardinal Mercier, standing side by side through the events that tried Belgium as few nations ever have been tried, speak louder and clearer than volumes of theory in favor of the Christian ideals of a united authority through all the realms of life. The author has given us a thrilling account of the great Cardinal. There is not a superfluous line in the book nor an uninspiring paragraph. The volume would be read widely for its literary value even were the subject an ordinary man.

With the instinct of a journalist to strike at the heart of a theme in order to capture the interest of a passing reader, the author opens her book with an intensely dramatic scene. It

occurred on a July day in 1916 in the Cathedral of Brussels. A great concourse of Belgians had assembled to celebrate the eighty-sixth anniversary of Belgium's independence. The church was surrounded by the army of the invaders and the gray uniforms were scattered among the assembled Belgians. The Cardinal, it was hoped, would be able to reach them, but he was still in Milan, and there was grave fear that his movements would be impeded. We are given a glimpse of the intense emotion which shakes the audience when the Cardinal appears, towering above his fellow-citizens, and proceeding to the pulpit sends his message ringing to the doors and vaults of the Cathedral. "Beloved brethren, we ought to have met together here to celebrate the eighty-sixth anniversary of our national independence. Fourteen years from today our restored Cathedral and our rebuilt churches will be thrown widely open; the crowds will surge in; our King Albert, standing upon his throne, will bow his unconquered head before the King of Kings; the Queen and the royal princes will surround him; we shall hear again the joyous peal of our bells, and throughout the whole country, under the vaulted arches of our churches, Belgians, hand in hand, will renew their vows to their God, their sovereign, and their liberty, while the Bishops and the priests, interpreters of the soul of the nation, will intone a triumphant Te Deum in a common transport of joyous thanksgiving. . . . Today the hymn of joy dies on our lips. The hour of deliverance approaches, but it has not yet struck. Let us be patient, let us not suffer our courage to waver." The Church and the State separated indeed! In union there is strength, and the Cardinal and the King not only strengthened each other but their accord gave strength and courage to suffer and to do during the long years of Belgium's martyrdom. Who can look upon the picture and study the march of events in this little heroic nation without regretting the absence from the Councils of the nation and from its public life of the great and vital forces of Christianity that forever make for right and for indomitable and unconquerable courage in its maintenance.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

Great Britain, Palestine and the Jews. Jewry's Celebration of its National Charter. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1918. Paper. Pp. 85.